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VOLUME IV

SPAIN IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1765-1794

EDITED BY

LAWRENCE KINNAIRD

(PT. III)

PROBLEMS OF FRONTIER DEFENSE, 1792-1794



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SPAIN IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1765-1794  
TRANSLATIONS OF MATERIALS  
FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES  
IN THE BANCROFT LIBRARY

PART III: PROBLEMS OF FRONTIER DEFENSE, 1792-1794

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EDITED  
WITH INTRODUCTIONS  
BY  
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## INTRODUCTION

Baron de Carondelet, who became governor and intendant of Louisiana and West Florida at the end of 1791, was confronted with serious and diverse problems of frontier defense. In the country of the Lower Creeks, William Augustus Bowles, with the backing of Bahama Islands' merchants, was attempting to create an independent Indian state. The Americans were making progress in their dealings with the Southern tribes and the Treaty of New York, which temporarily drew the Creeks into the orbit of the United States, was a serious blow to Spanish prestige.<sup>1</sup> Western Americans were not satisfied with Spain's concessions relative to the commerce of the Mississippi and were still considering the possibility of opening the river by force. The Government of the United States, gradually gaining power during Washington's administration, continued to demand both the free navigation of the Mississippi and the disputed territory north of the 31st parallel. The Choctaws were protesting because the governor of Natchez had built a fort at Nogales, in their lands, without tribal sanction. West of the Mississippi, the Osages terrorized the settlements, Louisiana traders sold arms which reached the hostile Lipan Apaches, and Choctaw and Chickasaw incursions increased in number. Added to the perennial difficulties of dealing with Americans and Indians were problems of major importance created by the French Revolution and the subsequent war between Spain and France. Jacobin agitation among the French inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley and the organization of filibustering expeditions in the American West under French auspices seriously threatened the safety of Louisiana and the Floridas.

Of necessity, Carondelet's defense measures involved the use of provincial militia, in which he had little confidence, and of friendly but less trustworthy Indian tribes. He had only a small number of Spanish regular troops and they were widely scattered in weak military posts from St. Marks on the Florida coast to St. Louis on the Mississippi. Appeals to his government for reinforcements in times of crises were usually without success and he was compelled to improvise plans of defense which were dependent upon the circumstances and the available local resources. Although his ability and training were not entirely adequate for the responsibilities of his position, he was fortunate in having competent and experienced subordinate officials such as Zenon Trudeau at St.

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1. See Part II, p. XXXIII.

Louis, Gayoso de Lemos at Natchez, and Arturo O'Neill at Pensacola.

When Carondelet assumed office, the most urgent situation demanding attention was that created by the adventurer William A. Bowles in the Southern Indian country. Bowles, for the purpose of diverting the Florida Indian trade to New Providence, issued the following proclamation on January 4, 1792:

Being appointed Director of the Affairs of the United Nation of Creek & Cherokee, I do hereby declare that my intentions are to Establish the free ingress & egress of the Vessels of all Nations (not at War with us) to the Ports & Rivers on this Coast. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Two weeks later, with a band of followers, he seized the store of Pantón, Leslie and Company located a short distance above Fort St. Marks.<sup>3</sup> This firm held a commercial monopoly from Spain and Bowles wanted to break its hold on the southern trade. Another objective was to supplant Alexander McGillivray as the leader of the Creek Indians. When Bowles offered to negotiate a treaty between his newly formed Indian state and Spain, Carondelet took advantage of the proposal. He sent two officers, Pedro Rousseau and José Hevia, to St. Marks bearing an invitation for Bowles to come to New Orleans to discuss the treaty. Despite warnings from his council of Indian chiefs, Bowles accepted the invitation after Hevia presented him a safe conduct signed by the governor.<sup>4</sup>

While Bowles was in New Orleans, he made a strong impression upon the governor when he described his Indian confederated state. He argued that the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws should unite with Spain in order to resist American attempts to appropriate their lands. To allay Carondelet's suspicions, he assured him that he was not an enemy of Spain but only of the United States. He emphasized the fact that he had been a Loyalist during the Revolutionary War and that, as a result, his family had suffered financial ruin at the hands of the Americans. Bowles alleged that the firm of Pantón, Leslie and Company could not be trusted and that, by exploiting the Indians, it was bringing the Spanish government into bad repute.<sup>5</sup> Carondelet had neither the intention nor the authority to negotiate a treaty with Bowles. He sent him under guard to Captain General Las Casas at Havana,

2. Proclamation by Bowles, January 4, 1792, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2371.

3. Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Pantón's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (1931), 164-192.

4. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 315; see below pp. 12, 14.

5. Carondelet to Floridablanca, March 22, 1792, No. 11, AGI, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2353; see below pp. 28, 31.

justifying his action on the ground that he had written the safe conduct for Bowles before he had learned of the capture of Panton's Apalachee store.<sup>6</sup> Carondelet, however, soon adopted Bowles' idea of forming an Indian confederation which might give military support and protection to the Spanish frontier. Apparently he did not know that McGillivray had suggested a similar plan to Governor Miró.<sup>7</sup>

After the disturbances caused by Bowles had subsided somewhat, Carondelet initiated measures to re-establish Spanish prestige in the southern Indian country. In order to have a more effective control over the Indians, he appointed agents or commissioners who were to reside in the Indian nations as representatives of Spanish authority. Governor Miró had made extensive use of Alexander McGillivray, chief of the Upper Creeks, and of William Panton of the firm Panton, Leslie and Company, in dealing with the southern tribes. In contrast, Governor Carondelet preferred to manage Indian affairs more directly by means of officers in the royal service. He selected Pedro Olivier for the post of commissioner for the Creeks. Juan Delavillebeuvre was assigned to the Choctaws and Chickasaws. In addition to the commissioners, a corps of subordinate agents, interpreters, and important Indian chiefs was gradually brought into the Spanish Indian service.<sup>8</sup>

For the first time, a Spanish agent was appointed for the Cherokees. The governor chose John McDonald, one of Panton's traders, for the post. Although McDonald attempted to win over all the Cherokees, his work was chiefly among the Chickamaugas, that branch of the nation most hostile to the Americans. In 1776, American forces had defeated the Cherokees and had forced them to make extensive land cessions. The Chickamaugas, however, refused to make peace. Retreating down the Tennessee River, they established new villages known as the "Five Lower Towns" where their numbers were augmented by a few Creeks, Shawnees, and British Loyalists.<sup>9</sup> The Chickamauga Cherokees continued to carry on sporadic warfare with the settlers on the Tennessee frontier and were ready to listen to Spanish overtures presented by McDonald. Before the end of 1792, Bloody Fellow, an impor-

6. Carondelet to Floridablanca, March 22, 1792, No. 11, AGI, PC, Papeles de Cuba, *legajo* 2353; see below p. 27.

7. John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938), 161.

8. Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Spanish American Frontier: 1783-1795*, (Boston, 1927), 41-46, 167-168; Caughey, *op. cit.*, 307; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 259-260; Kinnaird, *loc. cit.*, 157; see below pp. 21-22, 31-32, 74-77.

9. Arthur P. Whitaker, "Spain and the Cherokee Indians, 1783-1798," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (1927), 257-258; John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938), 156-161, 199-204.

tant Chickamauga chief, was apparently so won over to the Spanish interest that he made a journey to New Orleans to confer with the governor and to meet with delegations of Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws.<sup>10</sup>

Carondelet's Indian policy was more forceful than that of his predecessor because it was becoming increasingly necessary to offset growing American influence among the Southern Indians. The Washington administration devoted much attention to Indian affairs. In 1790 William Blount, the governor of the Southwest Territory, was appointed acting superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District with headquarters at Knoxville. At first he had only one assistant in the field, an interpreter with the Choctaws. Two years later, General James Robertson, because of his acquaintance with leading Chickasaws, was appointed as agent for that nation, and Leonard Shaw was selected as agent for the Cherokees. In the South, James Seagrove of Georgia, was charged with the conduct of Creek affairs. Interpreters and other agents were soon added to the American Indian service. The motives of the United States Government in undertaking active work among the Southern tribes were to prevent their forming any alliance with the hostile tribes north of the Ohio River, to extend American control gradually into the Indian country, and to promote trade.<sup>11</sup>

Carondelet resorted to countermeasures designed to stiffen Indian resistance against the Americans. He instructed his agent, Pedro Olivier, to inform the Creeks that they could count upon Spanish support in case of war with the United States and to assure them that they would be given arms and ammunition to defend their country against aggression.<sup>12</sup> In view of the governor's intentions, Olivier took a census of the Creek towns in order to determine the fighting strength of the nation.<sup>13</sup> Carondelet received reports that Seagrove was making arrangements for a conference with a group of Creek chiefs for the purpose of obtaining their approval to the running of the boundary line specified in McGillivray's treaty of 1790. The governor promptly instructed Olivier to do everything possible to dissuade the Creeks from going to meet the American agent and, as a result of Olivier's efforts, the conference was a failure. Inasmuch as the Treaty of New York was prejudicial to

10. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *El Brigadier Jaime Wilkinson y Sus Tratos con España para la Independencia del Kentucky* (Madrid, 1915), 46-50; Whitaker, *loc. cit.*; see below p. 96.

11. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 246-250; Robert S. Cottrell, "Federal Indian Management in the South, 1789-1825," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XX (1914), 334-339.

12. See below p. 21.

13. See below pp. 230-232.



the interests of Spain, Olivier's next step was to persuade McGillivray to sign a new treaty. McGillivray agreed, commenting that Carondelet's policy seemed to differ from that of Miró who had urged him to come to terms with the Americans. The Creek chief went to New Orleans where a treaty was drawn up and signed on July 6, 1792. In this treaty, Carondelet gave territorial guarantees to the Creek nation which Miró had not been willing to grant in 1784. Furthermore, in return for a promise to expel all intruders from their lands, the Creeks were assured of an adequate supply of arms and ammunition.<sup>14</sup>

While Pedro Olivier was at work among the Creeks, Gayoso de Lemos, governor of the Natchez district, was attempting to placate the Choctaws who were protesting because of the fort he had constructed at Nogales without their approval. He assured them that the post had been necessary to prevent a threatened occupation of the region by the South Carolina Yazoo Company but the explanation did not satisfy the Indians. In the spring of 1792, Gayoso sent Stephen Minor upon a mission to the Choctaw nation. Minor conferred with Franchimastabe, one of the principal chiefs, and laid the groundwork for treaty negotiations.<sup>15</sup> He discovered that some sort of loose alliance already existed among the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees. Although he did not learn the details, it was probably a defensive alliance against the Americans, nominally headed by the Chickasaw chief Tascaotuca.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws, after great effort, were persuaded to send delegates to Natchez to discuss the Nogales question and related matters. The conference lasted from May 11 to May 14. Governor Gayoso de Lemos entertained the Indians and explained again that a Spanish fort at Nogales was necessary because there was danger that the Americans might occupy the area. For a time Chief Franchimastabe, on the advice of his counselor, Turner Brashears, would not agree to cede the Nogales region. Eventually he yielded and substantial presents were agreed upon for distribution to the Indians. The occasion was considered so important that Father Gregorio White consented to the use of the parish church for the signing of the treaty. The conference terminated with elaborate ceremonies designed to impress the Indians.<sup>16</sup>

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14. Caughey, *op. cit.*, 326-330; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 304-305; see below pp. 21-22, 57-58.

15. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed., *Documentos Históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), 406-439.

16. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *España y los Indios Cherokis y Choctas en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Sevilla, 1916), 48-60.

Later in the year Juan Delavillebeuvre took up his residence in the Indian country where he was reasonably successful with the Choctaws; he also made some progress with the Chickasaws. At first he lived with Simon Favre, a trader in the Choctaw nation, and Favre built him a house at a spot located about four leagues from the village of Chief Franchimastabe and two hours' journey from the place where the trader Turner Brashears had his headquarters. Delavillebeuvre was thus centrally located and at the same time free from the inconveniences frequently suffered by agents who lived in Indian villages.<sup>17</sup> One of his assignments was to establish better relations with the Chickasaws since it was vital to Carondelet's plan for an Indian confederation that this tribe be brought under Spanish control. The Chickasaw country was strategically situated insofar as the routes to the Gulf both by way of the Mississippi and the Tombigbee rivers were concerned. The tribe controlled much of the Tennessee Valley, the mouth of the Ohio, and the important high lands on the Mississippi below the Ohio. Of all the southern tribes, the Chickasaws were upon the most amicable terms with the Americans. The principal obstacle to Spanish diplomatic efforts was Chief Piomingo whose friendship with General Robertson and other Americans was well-known. Delavillebeuvre focused his attention upon another important chief, Ugulayacabe, and by persuasion and a judicious distribution of presents won him and his followers over to the Spanish interest.<sup>18</sup>

Despite moderate successes, Spanish Indian diplomacy was seriously handicapped as a result of a drought in 1792 which caused crop failures throughout the Southern Indian country. Taking advantage of the situation, the American agent Seagrove recommended to the Secretary of War that grain be given to the hungry Indians. His suggestion was approved and early in October he sent word to McGillivray that 5,000 bushels of wheat had arrived at St. Marys for distribution. In the meantime, Governor Blount was also distributing grain among the Indians of his jurisdiction.<sup>19</sup> Spain's lack of resources in the period when food was needed enabled the American agents to make substantial gains in influence over the Indians. However, Olivier and other Spanish agents were able to keep alive the old Creek hostility against the Americans to such an extent that Seagrove made no immediate attempt to establish himself within the Indian country but remained at his headquarters on the St. Marys River and employed

17. See below pp. 76-77.

18. See below pp. 103-105, 166, 175-176, 291.

19. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 260, 311, 314; see below pp. 105-106.

Timothy Barnard, a trader, to handle his affairs among the Indians.<sup>20</sup>

Crop failures and scarcity of game in the Southern Indian country caused Spanish officials to adopt a policy of encouraging the Choctaws and Chickasaws in their practice of hunting west of the Mississippi. They were regarded, however, as dangerous visitors by the Indians of the Red River Valley. For this reason, Louis de Blanc, the commandant of Natchitoches, opposed the plan. Finally he had to agree when Governor Carondelet approved it.<sup>21</sup> After Carondelet's decision, many Choctaws came into the area, but instead of conducting themselves peacefully, they terrorized and plundered the Caddos, Natchitoches, Yatasis, Kichais, Kadohadachos, Yscanis, and other tribes. White settlers, as well as Indians, suffered especially from the depredations of the Choctaws which kept the entire district in a state of confusion. The tribes of the Red River Valley and the Louisiana-Texas frontier were small, disunited, and possessed few firearms. Consequently they were unable effectively to resist the more powerful intruders. Probably the only mitigating feature of the situation was the hostility of the Choctaws and Chickasaws toward the Osages whose incursions extended as far south as Natchitoches.<sup>22</sup>

Throughout Louisiana and West Florida, trade was an important instrument in the management of Indian affairs but it differed considerably in character east and west of the Mississippi. East of the river it was centralized under the control of the firm Pantón, Leslie and Company.<sup>23</sup> West of the river many licensed traders operated from the frontier posts and were more or less under the supervision of the commandants. Unlicensed Indian trade, however, was never entirely suppressed. Because of decentralization in the management of western commerce, greater opportunity existed for the individual trader but the result was a less consistent policy in dealing with the Indians. Jurisdictional disputes and the divergent interests of traders and post commandants sometimes led to confusion.

Activities of Louisiana traders on the Texas border continued to be a source of friction between the two provinces. The commandants of the Interior Provinces and even the Viceroy of Mexico objected to the trade carried on by the French inhabitants

20. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 383, 399; see below pp. 147, 169.

21. See below pp. 26, 99-100.

22. Caddo Chiefs to Commandant of Natchitoches, April 28, 1795, and Grand-Pré to Carondelet, September 27, 1796, No. 18, Bancroft Library; see below pp. 92-93, 299.

23. Arthur Preston Whitaker, *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas* (Deland, Florida, 1931), xxxiii-xxxvii.

of Louisiana with the Indians of Texas. It was asserted that hostile Lipan Apaches were obtaining guns and ammunition from Louisiana and, while the trade was usually not direct, it was dangerous. Texas officials charged that Indians of the Louisiana border, especially the Bidais, Cocos, and Attakapas, acted as intermediaries between the French and the Apaches who often traded horses and cattle stolen in Texas for guns and other supplies. The officials of Texas believed that the munitions obtained by the Lipan Apaches from Louisiana traders enabled them to continue their resistance.<sup>24</sup>

There were several reasons why, despite protests and orders to the contrary, the illegal traffic between Louisiana and Texas continued. The French inhabitants of the Natchitoches district needed horses and cattle and could best obtain them through the Indians. Furthermore, just at the beginning of Carondelet's administration, the district of Natchitoches had suffered serious financial losses because the government no longer made extensive purchases of tobacco and there was no market for the crop.<sup>25</sup> Most of the tobacco growers were compelled to turn to other means of livelihood, such as trading with the Indians. The East Texas Indians depended upon the French traders because the supplies they needed usually could not be obtained in their own jurisdiction. José María Armant, the commissary general for this district, lacked sufficient capital to import goods in large enough quantities. As a result, the trade went to Louisiana and frequently to unlicensed traders. Shortly after Carondelet's arrival in the province, De Blanc reported to him that the traders who once lived at the post no longer did so but were scattered among the Indian villages and, consequently, it was almost impossible to supervise them. He proposed various methods for remedying the Louisiana-Texas border situation but results obtained were negligible.<sup>26</sup>

While the commercial expansion of Natchitoches was restricted by its proximity to Texas, St. Louis, through the efforts of traders and explorers, was becoming the gateway to the Far West. A significant event in the development of a route to New Mexico occurred on October 6, 1792, with the arrival of Pedro Vial and two men from Santa Fé. Vial explained to Lieutenant Governor Trudeau that he had been commissioned by Governor Concha to open a trail from New Mexico to the settlements of Spanish Illinois

24. See below pp. 18, 19, 329-330.

25. James Alexander Robertson, ed., *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States*, (2 vols., Cleveland, 1911), I, 286; see below p. 9.

26. See below pp. 10, 11.

and that, under favorable conditions, the journey between St. Louis and Santa Fé might be made in 25 days.<sup>27</sup> The news of Vial's exploit was widely circulated among the traders on both sides of the Mississippi. Shortly after Vial's arrival, Jacques D'Eglise returned to St. Louis from an expedition to the Northwest and reported that he had ascended the Missouri 280 leagues to the country of the Mandans. He had discovered eight villages situated on the banks of the Missouri, all of which were fortified because of incessant warfare between the Mandans and the Sioux. According to D'Eglise, the Mandans offered great possibilities for trade since they had many furs. He reported that there was sufficient water in the Missouri for boats laden with merchandise to ascend all the way to the Mandan villages. Trudeau sent a report of D'Eglise's discovery to Carondelet who expressed much interest and asked for more information.<sup>28</sup> While D'Eglise failed to reap an adequate financial reward, his exploit, like that of Meunier and Roland in discovering the Poncas nation, was an example of the initiative of the St. Louis traders.<sup>29</sup>

Indian trade was the principal source of revenue for the settlements west of the Mississippi and Carondelet experimented with methods for increasing it. In the first year of his administration he specified that all properly qualified Spanish subjects were eligible for trading licenses in Spanish Illinois. On July 20, 1793, the governor drew up a tentative set of commercial regulations which he instructed Trudeau to present to the traders of St. Louis for consideration.<sup>30</sup> This was done on October 15, 1793, and many changes and additions were recommended. The merchants, among other things, asked that they be authorized to seize goods of foreign traders operating in Spanish territory. The principal request, however, was for permission to organize a company to exploit the trade of the Indian tribes of the Missouri situated beyond the land of the Poncas.<sup>31</sup>

With Trudeau's permission, Jacques Clamorgan called a meeting of interested traders on May 5, 1794, at which articles were drawn up for incorporation of the "Company of Explorers of the Upper Missouri." Clamorgan, the chief promoter, was elected director of the organization. The whole project was subsequently

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27. Louis Houck, ed., *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, (2 vols., Chicago, 1909), I, 350-358.

28. Abraham P. Nasatir, "Jacques D'Eglise in the Upper Missouri, 1791-1795," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (1927), 47-56; see below pp. 93-94, 108-109.

29. Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 1-3; see below pp. 272-273.

30. See below pp. 67, 191-195.

31. Nasatir, "The Formation of the Missouri Company," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXV (1930), 17.

approved by Carondelet who offered a cash reward to the first Spanish subject reaching the Pacific by way of the Missouri River route. Despite official encouragement, local support of the organization was not enthusiastic. There were more than 25 traders in St. Louis but only 9 of them joined the company and those who were not members soon objected to the privileges granted to the organization.<sup>32</sup> The Missouri Company was not successful and Carondelet's idea of an expedition to the Pacific was not put into execution until the Americans, Lewis and Clark, made the journey a decade later.

One of the chief obstacles to the growth of the western settlements and their commerce was the hostility of the Osages. The Great Osages and Little Osages, with a strength of about twelve hundred warriors, had long been the scourge of the western frontier of Louisiana.<sup>33</sup> The history of Spanish relations with them during the early part of Carondelet's administration was practically a repetition of the events which occurred in the time of Miró. The fact that some St. Louis traders carried on commerce with the Osages did not prevent the Indians from committing depredations upon the settlers of the region. Furthermore, the people of Arkansas and Natchitoches complained that arms acquired by the Osages in Spanish Illinois enabled them to extend their raiding activities to the south. Governor Carondelet finally decided to stop all trade with the Osages and then, with the aid of Indian allies, to carry on a war against them. Lieutenant Governor Trudeau believed that prohibition of trade would anger the Osages and that they would make retaliatory attacks upon the inhabitants of Spanish Illinois. He wrote to Carondelet that, before trade with the Osages was cut off, the traders should be sent out to the other nations with a two years' supply of goods since they would, without doubt, be attacked and plundered if they tried to make the journey after trade was prohibited.<sup>34</sup> Despite Trudeau's objections, Carondelet on December 22, 1792, ordered all Osage trade stopped and, by proclamation, authorized Spanish subjects to kill any Osages encountered.<sup>35</sup>

In a further attempt to solve the Osage problem, Carondelet considered the idea of building a fort upon the upper waters of the Arkansas River in the belief that this measure might restrain the Indians from attacking the Arkansas and Natchitoches regions.

32. *Ibid.*, 18-22; see below p. 279.

33. See below p. 148.

34. See below pp. 10, 56, 94.

35. See below p. 107.

However, Delino, the commandant of the Arkansas post, pointed out in a letter of March 24, 1793, that it would be inadvisable to place a fort far up the river because, during dry weather, there was insufficient water in the channel for boats to ascend with supplies for the garrison.<sup>36</sup> He favored a prompt declaration of war and stated that he was willing to raise a party to join an expeditionary force against the Osages. To support Delino's proposal, a number of hunters from the Arkansas post made an agreement on April 8 to participate in an attack upon the Osages.<sup>37</sup>

In May 1793, Carondelet sent orders to Trudeau to prepare for an Osage war. The lieutenant governor complied reluctantly because he believed that the expense of the war would more than offset any favorable results achieved. His main efforts were aimed only indirectly at the Osages. Hearing reports that British traders were bringing supplies to the Osages by way of the Des Moines River, Trudeau sent a detachment of 10 regular troops and 30 militia under the command of Antoine Vincent to investigate. Late in October 1793, the Spanish force encountered, not far from the mouth of the Des Moines, a British trading party camped on the west side of the Mississippi. Although the British traders protested that they were merely on their way to American Illinois, they were arrested and taken to St. Louis.<sup>38</sup>

The proposed general war against the Osages was quickly abandoned when Louisiana, after the outbreak of war between Spain and France, was threatened by a possible invasion from the American West. In the face of the new danger, the Osage situation became of secondary importance and Carondelet decided to turn the control of the tribe back to the traders. The plan adopted was that, in return for a 6-year trade monopoly, Auguste Chouteau, who had previously traded successfully with the Osages, should construct a fort in their country at his own expense and maintain order there. The experiment proved to be reasonably successful.<sup>39</sup>

A critical period for Spain in the Mississippi Valley began in 1793 when serious problems of defense arose upon her eastern frontiers. Early in the year Carondelet heard reports that Americans were planning to establish a settlement at Barrancas de Margot or Chickasaw Bluffs. Since this location was of strategic

36. See below pp. 143-144.

37. See below pp. 145-146, 149-150.

38. Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 50-52; Abraham P. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Mississippi, 1786-1796," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXIX (1931), 197-200; see below pp. 144, 155, 148.

39. *Ibid.*, 168; Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 100-110.

importance in the control of the Mississippi, he determined to occupy it first. Materials and supplies for the construction of a fort were loaded onto a small squadron of galleys but, just before the expedition left Natchez, the governor received orders from Spain to prepare for war with France. He was thus compelled to postpone the project and turn his attention to more urgent defense preparations.<sup>40</sup> At the time Spain went to war with France, General Wayne was organizing a new United States army in the West and the coincidence seemed significant to the officials of Louisiana. French agitators appeared in the Kentucky and Tennessee regions and were received with an enthusiasm which led to the formation of many democratic societies during the latter half of 1793. Some of the agitators, such as Charles de Pauw and Auguste Lachaise, were former residents of Louisiana and were in communication with republican sympathizers there.<sup>41</sup> Reports soon reached Carondelet concerning plans of the French and their American supporters in the West to seize Spain's Mississippi Valley possessions. Spanish defense preparations consequently involved measures to resist invasion from the east and to suppress republican agitation among the French inhabitants of Louisiana.

The plan of invading Louisiana from the American West probably originated with George Rogers Clark and his associates before the outbreak of war between France and Spain. Clark had a reputation for hostility toward Spain dating back to 1786 when rumors were circulated that he was recruiting a force to seize Spain's Mississippi posts and open the river to American commerce.<sup>42</sup> In December 1792, Clark apparently sent his first suggestions to France relative to a campaign against Louisiana. His brother-in-law, James O'Fallon, later wrote to a friend that Clark had discussed the plan with him "last Christmas" and that he had "framed the whole of the correspondence in the General's name" and corroborated it by a private letter to Thomas Paine, who was then a member of the Convention in France. Paine's reply dated February 17, 1793, seemed to indicate that the matter had been brought before the Provisional Executive Council by Edmund Genêt, the newly appointed minister to the United States, before his departure for America.<sup>43</sup>

40. Houck, *op. cit.*, II, 18-19.

41. Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1903, 4th ed., 4 vols.), III, 341-344; De Pauw to Genêt, June 12, 1793, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1896, I, 977-982; see below pp. 107-108.

42. See Part II, pp. XVIII-XIX.

43. Frederick J. Turner, "The Origin of Genêt's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas," *American Historical Review*, III (1897), 653; Moncure D. Conway, *Life of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1893, 4 vols.), II, 156.



When Genêt arrived in Philadelphia he found a detailed plan of the campaign which Clark had forwarded. Clark claimed that he could "raise 1500 brave men or thereabouts" in the American frontier settlements, and as many more from the French in Spanish Illinois and the Americans at Natchez. He predicted that, if the French fleet could cut off Spanish reinforcements, Louisiana and West Florida would quickly be taken.<sup>44</sup> On July 12, Genêt notified Clark that his plans had been adopted and that he was appointing him commander in chief of the "Revolutionary and Independent Legion of the Mississippi," and sending him a commission as major general. The bearer of this communication was André Michaux, a French botanist who, at that time, was being sponsored by the American Philosophical Society in a projected exploration of the Missouri River. Genêt instructed him to co-operate with Clark and to use all possible means to arouse in the people of Louisiana, both French and Indian, the principles of liberty and independence.<sup>45</sup>

French agitators were at work in New Orleans before news arrived that war had been declared. On February 15, 1793, Carondelet reported that false rumors were being circulated to the effect that Louisiana had been ceded to France. He believed that at least 10 merchants were involved in this propaganda and that Pablo Segond was probably the most dangerous of them all. As a salutary measure, he arrested an agitator named Bujac and sent him to Havana with a request that Las Casas confine him in Morro Castle.<sup>46</sup> At the same time the governor issued a proclamation forbidding the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda and the reading of radical literature. He also prohibited all gatherings at private houses for the purpose of discussing political questions pertaining to the French Revolution.<sup>47</sup> These measures were justified on the grounds of safety because 150 inhabitants of Louisiana had already sent a petition to the French Government requesting that it again take possession of the province.<sup>48</sup> Because of this unrest, Carondelet appealed to his superiors for additional troops, and a force was sent from Havana which maintained order during the critical time in June when the declaration of war was published at New Orleans. The governor then took firmer measures to weed out republicanism. All newcomers or persons who owned no property were compelled to take an oath of allegiance to Spain or to leave

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44. American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1896, I, 967-971.

45. *Ibid.*, 986, 995-996.

46. See below pp. 137-139.

47. See below pp. 139-140.

48. Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 327.

the colony. Thus, by the middle of summer, 68 persons were expelled from the capital and 2 merchants, who had been active in French agitation, were arrested and sent to Havana.<sup>49</sup> Despite Spanish efforts, subversive elements were not entirely eliminated.

While New Orleans was the center of French agitation, there were also evidences of it in the outlying regions. A number of inhabitants of the district of Natchitoches, under the leadership of the parish priest Delvaux, formed a revolutionary organization known as the *Revenants*. This organization caused many disorders and committed acts of violence. De Blanc, the commandant of the district, was unable to suppress the group and for a time feared it might assassinate him. When Carondelet took up the question of Delvaux's conduct with the bishop of the province, the priest was removed and order was restored.<sup>50</sup> In Upper Louisiana there was no open support of France although some inhabitants were suspected of complicity in the French plans to seize Louisiana. Captain Rousseau, commander of the Mississippi River patrol, asserted that a number of prominent men of St. Louis were French sympathizers but his charges, although probably correct, were never proved. Lieutenant Governor Trudeau, on the other hand, maintained that all the people of his jurisdiction were loyal.<sup>51</sup>

During the war years, the Spaniards not only had the problem of maintaining the loyalty of the Louisiana French but also were compelled to be on their guard against unrest among the slave population. Large numbers of slaves had been imported by the planters of Louisiana and West Florida in order to increase tobacco production when the Spanish government, prior to 1792, was making extensive purchases of that commodity.<sup>52</sup> The Negro insurrection in French Santo Domingo, resulting from the dissemination of revolutionary ideas, served as a warning to the inhabitants of Louisiana. Carondelet, at the solicitation of the New Orleans Cabildo, prohibited the introduction of Negroes from the French islands and took precautionary measures to maintain order among the slave population of the province. In 1793 and 1794 the Indian slaves, of whom there were still a considerable number, began to apply for their freedom upon the ground that Alexander O'Reilly had issued an order abolishing Indian slavery but it had never been put into effect. The governor believed that the demands

49. American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1896, I, 997-998.

50. Ernest R. Liljegren, "Jacobism in Spanish Louisiana, 1792-1797," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXII (1939), 65-72.

51. *Ibid.*, 85-90.

52. See Part II, p. XXVII.

were the work of French agitators and opposed immediate liberation.<sup>53</sup> In one way Spain benefited from the threat of a slave uprising in Louisiana. It ensured the loyalty of those slave owners who felt the need of government protection.

The war between Spain and France resulted in a cessation of commerce between the two countries that caused hardships to the people of Louisiana and added to their discontent. To alleviate the situation, a royal order was promulgated on June 9, 1793, which permitted trade between the province and those nations having commercial treaties with Spain.<sup>54</sup> The new regulation was announced in New Orleans the following September but did little to improve conditions because in practice it only opened trade with England and her colonies. Carondelet's local measures were more effective in remedying scarcities caused by loss of trade with France. Under provisions of the royal order of December 1, 1788, he lowered duties from 15 to 6 percent upon produce from the Kentucky and Tennessee regions and also permitted American ships to come up to New Orleans under the Spanish flag. A relatively free flow of trade between the United States and Louisiana resulted and the inhabitants of Louisiana were thus in part compensated for commercial losses due to the war. The governor justified the reduction of import duties upon the basis of diplomatic expediency as well as economic necessity. He believed that decreasing import duties would also decrease the possibility of an attempt by western Americans to open the Mississippi by force.<sup>55</sup>

While Carondelet's attitude toward United States commerce was liberal, he regulated and restricted American immigration into his province. A report received by him concerning a party of Americans who were planning a settlement on the Maramec River resulted in the statement of a new immigration policy. Believing that the group might be headed by Alexander Fowler, to whom Miró had previously granted permission to bring settlers to Spanish Illinois, the governor instructed Trudeau to permit no such establishments and to explain that circumstances had changed. French, German, and Dutch colonists might be brought in, but Americans would no longer be permitted to establish themselves north of Pointe Coupée.<sup>56</sup> Although Fowler, on the basis of Miró's promise, had extensively advertised a prospective colony which he named New Andalusia, Carondelet directed that Americans who came with him

53. Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 314, 325, 334-335; see Part I, pp. 125-126.

54. Whitaker, *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas*, 176-185.

55. Whitaker, *Spanish American Frontier*, 175-177.

56. See below pp. 51-52.

should be allowed to settle only on the Amite River in Lower Louisiana.<sup>57</sup> The new conditions imposed were sufficient to cause the failure of Fowler's scheme and to discourage subsequent American immigration.

In contrast to his stand upon American immigration, Carondelet was sympathetic toward the admission of French emigrés who were victims of the revolution. When he received a letter from Barthélemi Tardiveau, a merchant of Kentucky, relative to the establishment of a French colony in Louisiana, he invited the writer to come to New Orleans to discuss the plan.<sup>58</sup> Tardiveau proposed to obtain his colonists from a group of discontented French emigrés whom the Scioto Land Company had influenced to settle at Gallipolis on the Ohio.<sup>59</sup> Associated with him in the enterprise were Pierre de Hault de Lassus de Luzières, of the Gallipolis colony, and Pierre Audrain, a French merchant of Pittsburgh. The three partners traveled to New Orleans and on April 16, 1793, signed a contract in which they agreed to bring 100 French families into Spanish Illinois, to construct 4 flour mills there, and to supply the Spanish troops with flour and biscuit. The governor advanced 11,500 pesos to initiate the project. In the fall, Tardiveau began to develop the settlement which he named Nouvelle Bourbon. De Luzières was appointed commandant and a few French families from Gallipolis came to the region. However, Tardiveau and his associates were unable to fulfill their contract because defense preparations necessitated by the threat of Clark's invasion caused a diversion of labor and supplies.<sup>60</sup>

In the fall of 1793, Carondelet was warned by Spanish agents in Philadelphia that the French were preparing for a naval attack on Louisiana.<sup>61</sup> Since some of the troops which had been sent from Havana at the beginning of the war had already been withdrawn, the governor was compelled to call in militia from outlying districts to strengthen the defenses of New Orleans. He asked Gayoso de Lemos to send him reinforcements despite the fact that he was suspicious of the inhabitants of Natchez who were made up almost entirely of old English settlers and recently arrived Americans. Gayoso mustered about 380 officers and men from his district and sent them to the capital where they proved to be a restraining influence upon the French inhabitants. In addition to the use of

57. See below pp. 46-51.

58. See below pp. 60-66.

59. Howard C. Rice, *Barthélemi Tardiveau, a French Trader in the West* (Baltimore, 1938), 41-43.

60. *Ibid.*, 44-47. See below p. 126.

61. American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1896*, I, 1004.

Anglo-American volunteers, Carondelet hastened the construction on fortifications around New Orleans, personally planning and supervising a great deal of the work. When the naval invasion proved to be nothing more than a rumor, the Natchez detachment was permitted to return home.<sup>62</sup>

Spanish preparations to resist a possible naval attack upon Louisiana and the Floridas led to a reconnaissance of Tampa Bay. East of the small post of St. Marks, the gulf coast of Florida was unoccupied and an enemy foothold there would menace Cuba as well as Spain's mainland possessions. On February 1, 1793, Captain General Las Casas had written to Alcudia, the First Secretary of State, emphasizing the strategic importance of the bay.<sup>63</sup> Carondelet took up the matter with Enrique White, commandant of Pensacola, who reported in August that he would investigate the attitude of the Creeks toward a possible Spanish post on Tampa Bay.<sup>64</sup> In October White learned from Milford that the Upper Creeks did not know the exact location of the bay but had no objections to a fort there if the Lower Creeks were satisfied.<sup>65</sup> When rumors were rife concerning the approach of a French fleet, the Tampa Bay question appeared urgent and Lieutenant Vicente Folch was commissioned to examine the region with the view of possible occupancy. He made a careful survey and drafted a report dated December 17, 1793, recommending that a fort and settlement be founded there.<sup>66</sup> Soon thereafter it became evident that rumors concerning French naval operations in the Gulf were false and no further action was taken relative to Tampa Bay.

As a countermeasure to a French-inspired invasion of Louisiana and the Floridas from the American West which still seemed imminent, Carondelet planned an effective military alliance with the Southern Indian tribes. In the critical year of 1793 hostilities broke out between Creeks and Chickasaws and threatened to ruin his plan. As early as the fall of 1792, the Chickasaws had complained that the Creeks were making raids into their territory and stealing their horses. Trouble was averted temporarily by the Chickasaw chief, Tascatouca, who went on a peace mission to the Creek nation.<sup>67</sup> Arrangements were made for a meeting between Alexander McGillivray and Piomingo, the principal Chickasaw

62. *Ibid.*, I, 1042-1044; Gayarré, *op. cit.*, III, 329-330.

63. See below pp. 135-136.

64. See below pp. 200-201.

65. See below pp. 207-208, 222.

66. See below pp. 237-242.

67. See below pp. 75-76, 79-80, 83, 166.

chief, for the purpose of adjusting the differences between their nations. The meeting never occurred. On February 17, 1793, McGillivray died.<sup>68</sup> His death was a definite loss to the Creeks and to the Spaniards. Almost immediately Chickasaw war parties raided the Creek country. Shortly after the war began, the Choctaw chief, Franchimastabe, came to Mobile and informed Commandant Manuel de Lanzas that his nation planned to support the Chickasaws. Lanzas persuaded the Choctaws to remain neutral by pointing out that the United States desired a general Indian war which would so weaken the tribes that the Americans could move in and take their lands.<sup>69</sup> The Creek-Chickasaw war brought out clearly the difference in the objectives of Spanish and United States Indian policies. The Spaniards bent every effort toward bringing about peace among the Southern Indians for the purpose of uniting them against the Americans. The Americans, on the other hand, encouraged war.

Governor Carondelet sent Pedro Olivier to the Creek nation with instructions to urge that it make peace. Olivier's task was rendered difficult because the Creeks now had no outstanding leader. Louis Leclerc de Milford, who lived for many years in the nation, aspired to McGillivray's place of authority but lacked qualities of leadership. Although Milford did not have a high regard for Olivier, he co-operated with him, in an effort to restore peace, to the extent of ordering a band of warriors to return from an expedition against the Chickasaws.<sup>70</sup> In the prosecution of his mission Olivier attended a 5-day council of the Creek nation at Tukabatchi which opened on June 8, 1793. Here he addressed the assembly and explained Carondelet's plan to invite delegates of the four nations of Southern Indians to a general conference for the purpose of discussing matters of mutual interest.<sup>71</sup> The Creeks received this proposal favorably.

While Olivier was pacifying the Creeks, Delavillebeuvre and Gayoso de Lemos were urging the Chickasaws to terminate the war. An important preliminary step was taken when delegates of the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations held a conference in May at Bouctouca. Delavillebeuvre attended and persuaded both tribes to sign a treaty of alliance with Spain.<sup>72</sup> The Spanish agent's next problem was to win over the influential Chickasaw chief,

68. See below p. 168.

69. See below pp. 147, 152-153.

70. See below pp. 154, 160-161.

71. See below p. 167.

72. Serrano y Sanz, *España y Los Indios Cheroquis y Choctas*, 90; see below pp. 140-141.

Piomingo. Gayoso de Lemos tried to exert pressure by stopping trade in munitions with the Chickasaws but Piomingo secured supplies from his friend General Robertson. At last Choctaw intermediaries succeeded where Spanish agents failed. A delegation of Choctaw chiefs journeyed to Longtown bearing peace proposals from the Creeks. Here on June 1, 1793, a meeting was held at the house of Piomingo with Ben James acting as interpreter. The Chickasaw chief accepted the peace offers despite some reluctance and the war was brought to an end.<sup>73</sup>

As a result of the cessation of hostilities, Governor Carondelet was able to call a general conference of the Southern tribes at Nogales in October to which the Chickasaws, Creeks, and Choctaws sent representatives. The Cherokees, who were at war with the Americans, did not send a delegation but authorized the Creeks to act for them. Gayoso de Lemos presided over the assembly and directed the drafting of a treaty designed to bring about a confederation of Southern tribes under Spanish protection. He modified the instructions of Carondelet so that the alliance became defensive rather than offensive with respect to the United States. The treaty was signed on October 28, 1793, and included mutual territorial guarantees.<sup>74</sup> By it the tribes placed themselves under the protection of Spain and agreed to admit Spanish commissioners who would have complete jurisdiction over all white inhabitants living in the Indian country. The treaty also specified that Spain should give annual presents to the Indian nations of the confederation and designated the places of distribution.<sup>75</sup>

Diplomatic pressure by the United States upon the government of Spain and upon the Southern Indians quickly reduced the effectiveness of Carondelet's confederation. When the Treaty of Nogales was presented to the Council of State on March 7, 1794, it was approved only insofar as it would not disturb friendly relations with the United States.<sup>76</sup> In the meantime, American agents were making progress in dealing with the Southern tribes. In November 1793, Seagrove was permitted to enter the Creek country and attend an assembly at Tukabatchi. Despite the presence of Olivier and Milford, he strongly urged the Creeks to comply with the terms of the Treaty of New York.<sup>77</sup> To the chagrin of the Spanish agents, he remained in the nation several months and won

73. See below pp. 164-167, 175-176.

74. See below pp. 141-143, 223-227.

75. See below p. 225.

76. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 181-182.

77. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 471-472; see below pp. 243-244, 238.

a strong following. Shortly after the Tukabatchi assembly, Olivier was relieved of his post and Milford was left in charge of Spanish affairs pending the appointment of a new commissioner. As Olivier's successor, Carondelet chose Chevalier de Villiers who arrived in the Creek nation in April 1794. Unfortunately for Spanish interests, Milford and Villiers were distrusted by the Indians and neither was competent to deal with Seagrove. Consequently, the Creeks became divided in their loyalty to Spain.<sup>78</sup>

Spanish plans of defense following the Treaty of Nogales envisaged the establishment of military posts at strategic points in Choctaw and Chickasaw territory. The first of these posts, with Choctaw consent, was constructed upon the Tombigbee River about 100 leagues from Mobile and 60 above Fort Tombecbé. It was given the name Confederation in honor of the confederacy created at Nogales.<sup>79</sup> Delavillebeuvre moved his headquarters to the new fort. Benjamin Fooy was appointed as special agent to the Chickasaws among whom he had lived many years. His general assignment was to reduce the influence of the pro-American chief Piomingo by supporting Chief Ugulayacabe who was friendly toward Spain. Gayoso de Lemos also instructed him to persuade Ugulayacabe to lead 600 warriors in the defense of Spanish posts on the Mississippi in case of an invasion.<sup>80</sup> Finally, he was to direct his efforts toward securing Chickasaw approval of a Spanish fort at Chickasaw Bluffs.

In Spanish Illinois also, the Spaniards utilized Indians for defense against the expected invasion from the United States. The outstanding Indian agent there was Louis Lorimier. Shortly after the Revolutionary War, bands of Shawnee and Delaware Indians began to migrate across the Mississippi to Spanish territory. Lorimier, who had long traded with these Indians east of the Mississippi, moved his headquarters to the Ste. Geneviève district. He induced many more Shawnees and Delawares to come to the region and developed an extensive trade among them. Recognizing the possibilities of utilizing Lorimier and his Indians for the defense of Spanish Illinois against both the Osages and the Americans, Carondelet on January 4, 1793, gave him a grant of land at Cape Girardeau where he formed a settlement.<sup>81</sup> At the time Clark and his French associates were planning their invasion, Lorimier was employed to further Spanish interests among the

78. See below pp. 233, 234, 236, 244, 266-268.

79. Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 338-340; see below p. 270.

80. See below pp. 291-292.

81. Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (3 vols., Chicago, 1908), II, 170-175.



Indians and, by means of Indian scouts, to obtain information concerning military activities on the American side of the Mississippi. Captain Tomás Portell, commandant of New Madrid, on January 1, 1794, issued instructions to Lorimier to assemble the Loupes, Shawnees, and Cherokees and urge them to attack the enemies of Spain. The instructions, however, specified that only the Franco-American filibusters were to be attacked since Spain wished to maintain amicable relations with other Americans.<sup>82</sup> Lorimier's services were effective and timely in counteracting the propaganda of the French republican agents who were assuring the Indians that France was returning to the valley as in the days before the French and Indian War.<sup>83</sup>

In planning the defense of Louisiana against an attack by way of the Ohio and Mississippi, Carondelet relied heavily upon armed river boats. Armed craft were placed under the command of Captain Pedro Rousseau, an experienced officer who had fought with Gálvez at Pensacola during the Revolutionary War and had subsequently served on the Florida coast patrol at the time of the Bowles affair.<sup>84</sup> When Carondelet received reports that Americans were forming a settlement below the Ohio, he sent Rousseau in the galiot *La Fleche* to make a reconnaissance. The captain set out from Natchez on January 5, and proceeded all the way to New Madrid but found no Americans. He remained there from March 6 to March 19, inspected the fort and vicinity, and then returned to Natchez.<sup>85</sup> In the following fall, rumors of the French invasion by way of the Ohio caused the governor to order a vigilant watch for hostile craft on the Mississippi. In October, the mission of patrolling between Nogales and the mouth of the Arkansas was assigned to *La Activa* while *La Fleche* guarded the river from the Arkansas to the Ohio. Soon thereafter, three more galleys and one armed boat of a smaller class were put into service on the river and Rousseau established his headquarters at New Madrid. The only immediate result of these preparations was the arrest, in February 1794, of a Frenchman named Jean Pierre Pisgignoux as he was descending the Mississippi.<sup>86</sup> The prisoner was taken to Nogales, interrogated, and later sent to New Orleans. In his attempt to prove that he was not a French agent, he gave much

82. See below pp. 245-247.

83. Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 59-99.

84. Kinnaid, *loc. cit.*, 176-177, n. 15.

85. See below pp. 111-133.

86. Stanley Faye, "The Arkansas Post of Louisiana: Spanish Domination," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (1944), 709-711; American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1896, I, 1048; Lilljegen, *loc. cit.*, 82-83.

information about Clark and his associates and named many prominent inhabitants of Louisiana as participants in the conspiracy. However, a later report received by Carondelet from Michel Lacassagne, one of his Kentucky informants, concerning the conduct of Pissignoux in the United States indicated that in all probability he was involved in the Clark-Genêt affair.<sup>87</sup>

While Clark in Kentucky was organizing the Independent and Revolutionary Legion, similar activities were developing along the frontiers of Georgia and South Carolina. Genêt, during his stay in Charleston, had introduced Mangourit, the French consul, to Governor Moultrie and other leading citizens of republican sympathies. It was Mangourit's task to recruit a force in the South which might, with French naval support, invade the Floridas. The enthusiasm for the French Republic in South Carolina and Georgia aided him in his work. Samuel Hammond, William Tate, and Elijah Clarke were selected to organize the Revolutionary Legion of the Floridas. Both Hammond and Clarke were men of military experience and they planned to invade Spanish territory simultaneously by three routes. Hammond's assignment was to capture St. Augustine; Tate, with the northern part of the legion, was expected to cross the mountains, descend the Tennessee River, and join George Rogers Clark in an attack upon Louisiana by way of the Mississippi; and Elijah Clarke was to lead his volunteers into West Florida.<sup>88</sup> However, the course of events was changed by the decisive action of the United States Government. On April 22, 1793, Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality and soon thereafter asked for the recall of Genêt.<sup>89</sup> As a result, the revolutionary legions were left to operate without the expected French assistance.

Despite the recall of Genêt and presidential disapproval, both George Rogers Clark and Elijah Clarke continued their military preparations with the encouragement of many unofficial French agents. Governor Carondelet wrote to Alcudia on January 1, 1794, saying that, if Clark's plans were "carried into effect, the whole of Upper Louisiana from San Luis de Illinoia as far as Nogales, that is, an extent of 380 leagues will fall into the hands of the enemies in the Spring." He added that, if their operations were supported by a French naval attack by way of the mouth of the Mississippi, all of Louisiana would be taken "with the greatest

87. *Ibid.*, I, 1046-1051; see below pp. 286-288, 350.

88. American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1897, pp. 571-574.

89. Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *The Writings of Washington* (14 vols., New York, 1889-1898), XII, 281-282.

rapidity and facility."<sup>90</sup> The situation appeared so dangerous that on the following day Carondelet wrote to Simcoe, the British commander at Detroit, suggesting that it would be to the interest of England to co-operate with Spain against the Americans in the west. Simcoe replied on April 11, that he was unable to give any assistance since he had learned that General Wayne was preparing his army for an advance into the Indian country. This campaign, which might threaten British posts, was sufficient to keep the English in the northwest busy protecting their own interests.<sup>91</sup> On January 25, 1794, Clark advertised for volunteers in the *Centinel of the Northwest*, a Cincinnati paper, and offered a grant of 2,000 acres in Louisiana to each soldier who would serve for a year. Supported by many individual contributions, Clark enlisted men and collected flatboats at the falls of the Ohio.<sup>92</sup>

At the time when the Spaniards of Louisiana were daily expecting an invasion, reassuring communications were received from western Americans who were not in sympathy with the designs of Clark and his associates. James White wrote to Gayoso de Lemos from Cumberland on February 1, 1794, that agents, apparently employed by the French government, were making large promises but offering little money to those who would join the Louisiana expedition. He explained that his government was unable to do anything about it because recruits were hired as "watermen" ostensibly for river commerce. White stated that Colonel John Montgomery was the chief American leader of the proposed expedition from the Cumberland region and that George Rogers Clark and General Logan were the prime instigators in Kentucky.<sup>93</sup> Early in the year General James Robertson warned Captain Portell to be on his guard against attack. Robertson also wrote to Gayoso de Lemos that, although an expedition was being organized, the French apparently could furnish little money and he was sure that it would fail. He stated that an advance party had been sent to establish a post at the mouth of the Cumberland River but assured the governor of Natchez that the United States Government would oppose the operation.<sup>94</sup> Two weeks later, Harry Innes of Kentucky wrote to Gayoso that no influential people supported the

90. American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1896*, I, 1027-1028.

91. Nasatir, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Mississippi, 1786-1796," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XXIX (1931), 181-182.

92. Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 26; Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement* (Boston, 1897), 539-540.

93. See below pp. 252-253.

94. See below p. 253.

expedition. He also predicted that it would fail because of lack of funds.<sup>95</sup>

Montgomery and a band of volunteers from the Cumberland settlements brought a long period of anti-Spanish agitation to a climax. Loading materials for the construction of a stockade onto boats, they descended the Cumberland to the Ohio. Near the mouth of the Cumberland, they quickly constructed a post to be used as an advance base in the projected campaign against Louisiana. Montgomery's force halted all traffic on the Ohio and, interfering with American exportation, caused a flour shortage in Louisiana.<sup>96</sup> On March 24, 1794, President Washington, yielding to an appeal from the Spanish representatives in the United States, issued a proclamation designed to break up unauthorized military demonstrations in the West.<sup>97</sup> At the same time, a band of about 600 Shawnees under Lorimier's direction attacked Montgomery's blockhouse and forced him to withdraw to Red Banks.<sup>98</sup> General Robertson on May 17, sent Portell the reassuring news that the United States Government had suppressed all filibustering activities.<sup>99</sup>

The interposition of Federal authority to break up unauthorized military forces on the Ohio removed one threat to Spain in the Mississippi Valley but added another. General Wayne, acting upon orders from President Washington, sent a detachment from his army to establish a post on the lower Ohio to prevent any military movement down the river against Louisiana.<sup>100</sup> This force, commanded by Major Thomas Doyle, constructed Fort Massac about 6 miles below the site of Montgomery's blockhouse, but on the north bank of the river. Since the fort was exposed to Indian attacks, Wayne later reinforced it with more troops and artillery. On June 21, 1794, Captain Portell reported to the governor that American troops were already at Fort Massac.<sup>101</sup> Carondelet and his officers were as perturbed over the erection of the fort as they had been at the threat of Clark's invasion. The governor ordered Portell to increase his garrison until it was equal to that of Fort Massac and to resist to the last if attacked by the Americans. Since the governor was uncertain as to the

95. See below p. 258.

96. See below pp. 327-328.

97. James Daniel Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (10 vols., Washington, 1899), I, 157.

98. See below pp. 276-277, 288.

99. See below p. 286.

100. *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, I, 454-458; American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1896*, I, 1079-1081.

101. See below p. 307.

objectives of the American troops, he directed that Indian scouts be used to watch them.<sup>102</sup>

For the purpose of gaining information about Fort Massac, Portell sent a polite message to Major Doyle by an officer of his garrison who was ordered to observe and report what the Americans were doing. This officer was courteously received and entertained by Major Doyle. Among other things, he learned that the fort was garrisoned by a hundred men. The most disquieting information he acquired, however, was that some men from Montgomery's volunteer force, including the commander himself, were at Fort Massac. At the officers' mess, Montgomery told the Spaniard ironically that he expected to visit New Madrid in the autumn. The latter responded "that he would be received according to his merit."<sup>103</sup>

Both Carondelet and Las Casas saw in the establishment of Fort Massac a confirmation of their suspicions concerning the designs of the United States. On May 19, 1794, the governor general had informed his home government that the Americans were more to be feared in the Mississippi Valley than the French and predicted they would ultimately absorb Louisiana.<sup>104</sup> Since Spanish representatives had requested President Washington to halt the activities of Clark and Montgomery, a demand for the evacuation of Fort Massac would have been inconsistent and ineffective. Therefore, Las Casas and Carondelet resorted to more devious means. Upon the assumption that Spain held a protectorate over the Chickasaw territory by virtue of the Treaty of Nogales, they instructed Gayoso de Lemos "to incite the Chicacha nation to reclaim the territory in which the new fort Massac has been built" and also to arouse the Cherokees to attack the Americans.<sup>105</sup> Gayoso de Lemos objected to using such vigorous and unwise methods. In letters to Carondelet and Alcudia, he based his objections on the following reasons: first, the Chickasaws would be unable to dislodge the Americans even if they made the attempt; second, Fort Massac had been built by the Americans to protect Spanish territory, and General Wilkinson, Spain's hired agent in Kentucky, had stated that it was needed to restrain the French partisans in the West; and third, Spanish instigation of Indian hostilities would alienate the people in Kentucky who were well-disposed toward Spain.<sup>106</sup> The last argument was one the

102. American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1896*, I, 1082; see below pp. 324-325.

103. See below p. 318.

104. See below pp. 288-289.

105. American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1896*, I, 1081-1083.

106. *Ibid.*, 1079-1081.

governor could not ignore because he was in the process of reviving the Kentucky intrigue.

The reappearance of strong separatist tendencies in the American West presented Spain with a possible solution to her defense problems on the Mississippi. Early in 1794, Wilkinson wrote to Carondelet giving his version of the preparations being made for Clark's expedition and analyzing the underlying motives. The great resentment against the Federal tax on whiskey was threatening to develop into open rebellion. The western people, he asserted, were tired of the new Federal Government which did nothing for them and were determined to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi. At the moment, it appeared that they intended to do this by force; but, explained General Wilkinson, if proper measures were taken, they would be willing to gain their object by seceding from the Union and forming an alliance with Spain. Wilkinson assured Carondelet that the crisis was at hand. A decision would soon be made either for the conquest of Louisiana or for a separate agreement with Spain.<sup>107</sup> The governor, influenced by the communications of Wilkinson, was willing to connive at a separatist movement. If the western part of the United States should secede from the Union and place itself under the protection of Spain, the major problems of frontier defense might be solved. Lacking an adequate number of Spanish troops, Carondelet believed he had only two means of defending Louisiana against American advances: one was to reopen the Kentucky intrigue, and the other was to rely heavily upon his Indian confederacy. Although not unduly sanguine about either plan, he attempted to develop first one and then the other as circumstances dictated.<sup>108</sup>

Prominent among the conspirators associated with Wilkinson in the new plot to separate the West from the Union were Judge Harry Innes, Benjamin Sebastian, Michel Lacassagne, Barthélemi Tardiveau, and James Murray. Correspondence was carried on between Wilkinson and Carondelet throughout the spring and summer of 1794, and led to the shipment of \$16,000 in silver to the American general to reimburse him for his supposed expenses and services in buying off the Clark-Genêt conspirators and in breaking up the project. Lacassagne, Collins, and other agents employed by Wilkinson as go-betweens received considerable sums for their part in the affair.<sup>109</sup>

While tension was eased upon the Upper Louisiana frontier by the

107. Serrano y Sanz, *El Brigadier Jaime Wilkinson*, 55-56; Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 190.

108. See below pp. 104, 239.

109. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 194-197.

suppression of filibustering activities and the reopening of the Kentucky intrigue, the situation on the Georgia frontier remained threatening throughout the summer of 1794. General Elijah Clarke, after hopes for French financial support faded, held his forces together by changing his objective to the occupation of coveted Indian lands west of the Oconee River. Although warned by Governor Matthews of Georgia to abandon the enterprise, Clarke and his followers crossed the Oconee, established military posts, and prepared for permanent occupancy of the region.<sup>110</sup> The Lower Creeks, whose lands were invaded, immediately held an assembly at which they committed themselves to armed resistance against American encroachment. They appealed to the Spaniards who were pledged to their support by the Treaty of Nogales.<sup>111</sup> Carondelet wrote to Las Casas requesting permission to lead a force against the Americans. In considering the feasibility of such an expedition, the governor sought the advice of Pantón concerning the character of the country and the distance involved. Pantón stated that troops, supported by bands of Indians, could make the journey by way of Kawita on the Chattahoochee River. He said that the country was passable if supplies and field pieces were transported by pack horses and he estimated that the distance from Kawita to Clarke's establishment was about 175 English miles.<sup>112</sup> The captain general, however, regarded Carondelet's proposal as impractical. At the end of September, 1794, the trans-Oconee enterprise was broken up by Georgia militia acting under orders of the governor of the state.<sup>113</sup>

Throughout 1794 Spain was compelled to watch the fate of her Mississippi Valley possessions being determined by events on the American frontier. General Wayne, after long preparations, began his campaign in July against the Maumee towns. At Fallen Timbers, on August 20, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon a large force made up of warriors from many tribes.<sup>114</sup> The victory broke the power of the Indians north of the Ohio and served as a warning to the Southern tribes. A second warning quickly followed. In October, General Robertson organized an expedition to attack the Chickamauga Cherokees who, together with the Creeks, were committing depredations on the Tennessee frontier. This force, under the command of Major Ore, surprised the Chickamaugas and

110. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 495, 499-501; see below p. 355.

111. See below pp. 342-343.

112. See below pp. 346-347.

113. See below pp. 368-369, 371, 375.

114. See below pp. 347, 354, 380.

destroyed two of their towns.<sup>115</sup> At the end of the year, John McDonald, the Spanish agent for the Cherokee country, reported to the commandant of Pensacola that all the tribes appeared to be very intent on making peace with the Americans.<sup>116</sup> Thus Carondelet's plan for using Indians as a defense against the United States was rendered ineffective.

Carondelet was also frustrated in his desire to take advantage of the separatist movement in the American West. After a careful consideration of the question of supporting a secession movement, the Spanish Council of State on July 25, 1794, decided to abandon the plan for one of conciliation toward the United States Government. It specified that the Kentucky intrigue was not to be pressed unless diplomatic efforts to adjust differences between the two countries failed.<sup>117</sup> The action of the council proved to be far-sighted. Western opposition to the Federal Government came to a head in the Whiskey Insurrection which was crushed in October with a great show of force by the Washington administration. After that, separatist tendencies in the West rapidly declined.

While Governor Carondelet was not immediately aware of the decisive nature of events in 1794, he believed that "a general revolution" threatened Spain in America unless a "powerful and speedy remedy" was applied. In a detailed military report, dated November 24, he analyzed the danger of American expansion in an understanding and realistic manner. He warned his government that, unless Spain sent heavy reinforcements of troops to Louisiana and employed every possible means of defense, the Americans would not be stopped at the Mississippi.<sup>118</sup>

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115. Brown, *op. cit.*, 423-430.

116. See below p. 385.

117. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 198.

118. Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 297-303.



McGILLIVRAY TO O'NEILL

*January 1, 1792<sup>1</sup>*

PENSACOLA, *1st January 1792*

SIR: Being prevented from executing my Intended Visit to New Orleans, by a long indisposition until the advanced season of the year, & from the Circumstance of Bowles being about the Lower parts of the Nation, I judged it Necessary to return soon to the Nation to take Steps to rid the Country of the Vagabond from all that we have been able to lern of this fellow he is the fool [*sic*] of Lord Dunmore & Millar the Merchant & aided & encouraged by them in the diabolical design of not only to endeavour to destroy the Treading establishments of Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Panton Leslie & C<sup>o</sup>. but also to cause discontents in the minds of the Indians against their Neighbours in effecting which matters he cannot Succeed as his party is Confined to two Villans in the Lower Creeks they consist of two Chiefs of the Second Class & some others Who cannot kill game to support themselves & to whom he has promised large presents when his two Ship Load of Goods should arrive which was to be in all last month.

I am shure that he comes from no higher Authority than the above named persons & the time for the vessels to arrive is elapsed of course the Indians whom he has deluded will be convinced that he is both a Liar & Imposter & in the rage of disappointment may save me the trouble of pursuing him. that he is a needy desperado Your Excellly will readily admit from the Letter he wrote you by which he wishes to force himself into notice & bread. & as to the Letter he has had the presumption to write to the Marquis Florida Blanca my oppinion is that it ought not to be sent but that his Excellly. the Gov<sup>r</sup>. of Luisiana should open it that we might be better informed of the views & designs of the vagabond & all he wants is a String of falsehood to give himself Importance as well as to Insure others—

I wish you to recommend that it's very Necessary to have an Armed Vessel mounting four Cannon two six pounders one at each end & two four pounders at each side & of an easy draught of Water to be Stationed at St. Marks to Cruise along the Coast to the mouth of the River Apalachicola near which is the Island called St. George under which the Vessel can occasionally lay in order to Guard the Coast in order to prevent Roaving vagabonds from land-

<sup>1</sup> Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2371 (English). Documents are translated from Spanish unless otherwise indicated.

ing on the Coast & raising confusion among those Indians by their falsehoods for their own private ends. wishing Your Excellency a Saif & pleasant passage I remain with most perfect esteem Your most Obed<sup>t</sup>. Servant

ALEXR. MCGILLIVRAY.

His Excellency. Brigadier O'Neill.

It is a copy—

ARTURO O'NEILL (Rubric)

WATERS TO PORTELL

*January 12, 1792*<sup>2</sup>

NEW MADRID *January 12th 1792.*

No. 3.

In answer to Capt. Portell Com<sup>t</sup>. & his written Interrogations to me I make report, & Declaration.

1<sup>st</sup>. I do know the five Persons who have subscribd their Names—I recollect to have seen Evan Shelby and Geo. Bell sign their Names as to the others I do not remember that I did—I am only acquainted certainly with the Signature of Val: Sevier & believe it his.

Evan Shelby is Titled Col<sup>o</sup>. in his County. Val. Sevier bears the same Title, and so does John Montgomery—The first is said to be a very military character; but the two last are suppos'd the most popular. Geo. Bur & Rob<sup>t</sup>. Nielson are Justices of the Peace, Men of Property & of repute in their neighbourhood—

2. Their writing to Capt. Portell was in consequence of my advice to do so in preference to making war on the Indians within the Kings Dominions (a Thing they seemed to have in view without giving any Notice or asking any permission—As to any power delegated to these or any of these Men for the purpose of addressing Capt. Portell I cant certainly declare; I believe they had several meetings at which others were present beside themselves; but not being present or privy to their proceedings cant answer this question pointedly—but believe from the common Tone of Conversation in the Neighbourhood that the Majority of the Populace—accord with these five Men in Sentiment. I do not expect they have any legal authority from Government to make war or Peace with any power—

R. J. WATERS (Rubric)

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<sup>2</sup> Bancroft Library, (English).

## ROBERTSON TO PORTELL

*February 13, 1792<sup>3</sup>*NASHVILLE, MIRO DISTRICT, *February 13, 1792.*No. 4. *Received the night of March 28, 1792.*

SIR: I flatter myself, although I have not the honor of being known to you, that you will not be surprised at my writing to you. The importance of the matter authorizes me to take this step. Your feelings will not fail to be affected when I inform you of the depredations committed on the Cumberland River by the Loup and Shawnee Indians of New Madrid. They attacked several boats, killed eight persons and wounded some others. I know beyond a doubt, Sir, that nothing is closer to your heart than the maintenance of a good union with a nation allied to the King of Spain, so that when this comes to your knowledge, your humane spirit and your influence will stop such acts of cruelty to the extent of your powers. We have nothing but praise for the goodness of His Excellency Don Estevan Miró, former Governor of Louisiana, who by his intervention, secured tranquillity for us from the Talapoosa and Cherokee Indians. I trust that the same thing will happen with your new Governor, His Excellency Monsieur le Baron de Carondelet.

I am quite pleased to inform you, Sir, that one Moris, who came aboard your boat at New Orleans, has induced several individuals from this place to go and steal horses from the Loup and Shawnee. This is likely what has drawn them here. You know, Sir, that in a very wide-spread country there are vagrants; that is why we have disavowed their conduct. It has also come to me, Sir, that certain individuals have written you a letter through Dr. Waters, the terms of which were probably not sufficiently guarded. I beg you as a favor not to accord it any attention and to look upon it as coming from persons who presumed to take steps beyond their authority, as they are neither commissioned nor titled. I beg you to be so kind as to speak to a war-chief named Racoon. He belongs to the Loup nation and he was at the head of the party which committed all the excesses mentioned above. You might assure the nations which are under your command that, if in the future they have some cause for complaint against this country, we shall render them prompt justice.

I should receive with the greatest possible pleasure an answer from you, Sir, as Monsieur Fagote has apprised me of your character and the excellence of your good heart. I am sincerely desirous of entering into correspondence with you upon those terms.

I have the honor of stating myself, with a perfect consideration, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

JAS. ROBERTSON.

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<sup>3</sup> BL, (French).

## FAGOT TO PORTELL

*February 13, 1792*<sup>4</sup>

No. 5.

SIR: I have the honor of writing to you to inform you of the depredations committed on the Cumberland River by the Loup and Shawnee who, the Americans assure me, come from the district of New Madrid. I pointed out to General James Robertson, who is very influential in the place where I am located, that you knew nothing about this, and that the wisdom and humane sentiments of the Spanish government disapproved of such cruelties. I told him besides that you had begged me to let him know that you were strongly desirous of maintaining a good union with a nation allied to our Lord and Master, the King of Spain.

As a result, he is writing to you, hoping that your influence will cut short all these outrages perpetrated without your knowledge. The Americans wanted to raise six hundred men in order to revenge themselves on the Indians for the people they killed and wounded on the river. General Robertson and all the sensible people opposed this when I told them something of the benevolent nature of Monsieur le Baron de Carondelet, our new governor, as well as that of yours. After what I have told him about you, he is greatly desirous of entering into a correspondence with you which would flatter him greatly.

I have the honor of being, with a perfect consideration, Sir, Your most humble and most obedient servant.

ANDRÉ FAGOT (Rubric)

NASHVILLE, MIRO DISTRICT, *February 13, 1792.*

## AMERICAN OVERTURES TO THE CHOCTAW

1792<sup>5</sup>*Translation.*

TO THE CHIEFS AND WARRIORS OF THE CHOCTAW NATION.

BROTHERS: Your Father, General Washington, has received the talk which you sent him last autumn by the chiefs of the Cherokees. He has received it with much satisfaction and holds it fast to his heart, as he does all the peaceful red people, particularly the Choctaws.

The United States is now at peace with the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws.

General Washington earnestly desires that the peace shall be as firm and enduring as the mountains. He will cheerfully embrace every

<sup>4</sup> BL, (French).<sup>5</sup> BL. See also *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 248, 266.

opportunity to make our friendship more and more intimate, uniting us all with bonds of fraternal love. Although the United States is now at peace with all the tribes of the south, nevertheless it is still at war with some bad Indians north of the Ohio. These are the Kickapoos and their allies who are your enemies as well as ours.

The war that the bad Indians have waged against the recent frontier settlements is the cause of the United States' raising troops and attempting to chastise those Indians; but they, having seduced others to join with them, defeated our troops last year. The United States nevertheless has not lost courage because of this happening, and it will punish those bad Indians severely unless they come immediately to make peace.

We do not need their lands; neither do we wish to infuriate them nor to do them harm in any way; but we do desire that they shall conduct themselves as good sons, to the end that they may receive consideration from us.

**BROTHERS:** Your Father, General Washington, desires that you shall not believe any falsehood with which those bad Indians are trying to imbue you. I have told you the truth which is that the cause of our making war on them is that they killed the whites, and I repeat that unless they remain quiet they will be destroyed.

**BROTHERS:** If these bad Indians continue the war we shall send a large army to Fort Washington on the Ohio next year. Your Father, General Washington, says that any of your young warriors who may wish to join our troops in the place mentioned will be well-maintained and recompensed after the campaign. Such warriors as wish to go must be there by the first day of next June. General Washington sends you two large medals of silver, two sets of arm-bands, and also two rich uniforms, in token of his regard. You will name the two chiefs who are to receive these marks of distinction; but besides these articles you will have many other good things, and he has given an order to the commandant general of Fort Washington to send you fine presents for your nation. Let him know when and where you wish to receive them, and he will send them to your chiefs and warriors. Remember the Treaty of Hopewell as the bond of our union; fulfill it on your part as we shall do on ours. The United States will be your friends and protectors on all occasions. To this you should give attention. General Washington invites four or five of your chiefs to go and visit him at Philadelphia for he wishes to see you and convince you personally of how desirous he is to promote your happiness. You will be graciously received, well-treated, and sent away enriched with presents which will evidence the goodness of his heart and the friendship of the United States.

General Washington sends you a large white collar. Preserve it as his unfailing promise. Given at the city of Philadelphia on the 17th of February in the year of Our Lord 1792.

HENRY KNOX, *Secretary of War*.

Recorded JNO. FLAGG, Junior.

*Another.*

William Blount, governor of the territory of the United States of America south of the Ohio River and superintendent of Indian affairs of the said district, to the chiefs and warriors of the Choctaw nation.

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: I have delivered to Anthony Foster and James Randolph Robertson with this letter another directed to you by Henry Knox, Esquire, Secretary of War, written by order of the illustrious General Washington, President of the United States of America, and with them the medals, arms, sashes, suits, and collar, or belt, mentioned in it, with instructions that they are to be delivered to you.

You will see that the letter of the Secretary of War and the articles mentioned in it were originally destined to be delivered to you by Mr. Shaw; but, since on his arrival here, his business in the Cherokee nation did not permit him to go so soon to see you, and as I considered it to be of great importance that you should have the letters as quickly as possible, I have sent them by the men mentioned above who are citizens of the United States in Cumberland. I commend the letters to you particularly so that you will pay attention to whatever they tell you respecting the friendship of the illustrious President for your nation. To this you should give entire faith and credit. On my part I am acting by order of the President; I saw your Indians at the time of the making of the Hopewell Treaty; I have seen Taboca in Philadelphia with John Woods; I love you all, and I shall always have the greatest satisfaction in giving you, as well as your nation, proofs of my friendship and that of the United States.

If any of your young warriors have a desire to learn military formation, I beg that you will permit them to go to join the troops of the United States at Fort Washington as is mentioned in the letter from the Secretary of War; and you may have the fullest confidence that those who do go will give satisfactory proof of their close friendship to the United States.

The Chickasaws, your neighbors, are good people; be careful to maintain your friendship with them and the United States. Nevertheless there are among the Chickasaws certain red men who tell you

a thousand falsehoods; be cautious with them and do not believe them. With the greatest desire for your future happiness I am your friend and brother—

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

KNOXVILLE, *April 21, 1792.*

*Another.*

William Blount, governor of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio River and superintendent of Indian affairs in that district, to the chiefs and captains of the Choctaw nation:

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS: After writing to you on the 27th of April and sending the letters from the Secretary of War dated February 17th by Mr. Robertson and Mr. Foster, I received orders from the same secretary, communicated to him by the illustrious President of the United States, your Great Father, for the purpose of proposing to you that you shall come to see me and conclude with me a treaty at Nashville like brothers and friends, as soon as you can get together.

The object of this treaty is not to offer to buy any land from you, nor to obtain anything from you except to strengthen and confirm our friendship, whose foundations were so happily laid at Seneca by the Treaty of Hopewell. We desire you to come in order to give you some presents of value as a final proof of the sincerity and friendship of the President and of the United States towards you and your nation, and so that we may see and know each other and take each other by the hand, eat, drink, and smoke together, and treat of those things which always assure the reciprocal friendship of peoples and nations. I beg that you will come to meet me at Nashville about June 15, and if you can not come at that time, come as soon as may be possible. I desire that not only the principal chiefs and captains of the nations shall come to see me but also your young warriors, for I am anxious to know both and form friendship with them.

I also invite the Chickasaws to come to the treaty at the same time and place, with the same object. I am inviting the Chickasaws the same as you because I can count on their friendship as I can on yours, for I know both nations to be good people, and I love both as brothers, and I know that both love the United States. This letter will be delivered to you by Anthony Foster, James Randolph Robertson, and David Smith. To anything that they may tell you with respect to the proposed treaty and the friendship of the President of the United States and his officers for you and your nation you should give entire faith and credit, for they are people who will tell you only the truth, and not falsehoods. Friends and brothers, I am yours,

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

KNOXVILLE, *May 10, 1792.*

*Another.*

OLD FRIEND: This is to inform you that I am still living, and that I desire greatly to see you, so that we might take each other by the hand, smoke, eat, and drink together. The Great Commander Washington has sent to tell you to come to see your brothers in these parts, and he has sent Foster, Robertson, and Smith with letters. They will inform you at what time I expect you; love them and do not permit them to be ill-treated in your country by any person. I know that the Spaniards will try to make you believe that all these are falsehoods, but you can tell them that I have told it to you and that you have known me since the time when you and I were young; and that now we are old, and you have never heard me tell a lie. I therefore hope that you will not listen to their words but that you will invite several of my old friends, as far as you can, telling them there will be plenty of beef and corn to eat, and goods to carry to their houses.

THOMAS JAMES.

*June 9, 1792.*

*Another.*

TO THE KING OF THE CHOCTAW NATION FRANCHIMASTABÉ, AND ENGLISH WILL OF THE CHOCTAWS: I beg that you will listen to the following concerning those who are going to talk with you; pay attention; open your ears to what they say. I desire that, if Franchimastabé cannot come to the proposed treaty of Cumberland, he shall send those that he can induce to come. It has been represented to me that the Choctaw nation is displeased with the old chief, and that they have threatened his life in consequence of his conduct with the Spaniards. My advice is that they shall leave Louisiana. Pay attention to my words, and proceed to the present treaty. Franchimastabé and all the chiefs of the Choctaw nation should listen and heed the advice and all, or as many as can, should come to the treaty.

PAYEMINGO, CHIEF OF THE LONG VILLAGE, TO FRANCHIMASTABÉ, KING OF THE CHOCTAWS: I have been hearing from you for a long time but I have never had the pleasure of knowing you. I shall not attempt to address myself to you formally; but I beg you to take care of these friends of mine. Pay attention to what they may tell you, and see that they return safely to me. I have not much to say to you but I beg you to send your message by Susconofuy of Boyeckr, in whom I have great confidence.

PAYEMINGÓ.



## DE BLANC TO CARONDELET

*February 18, 1792* <sup>6</sup>

## No. 3.

The post of Natchitoches of this province, which has been entrusted to my charge since the 6th of January, '88, when I took possession of it, is situated on the Red River, distant from the capital about 150 leagues. It was founded in the year 1715 by my grandfather, Don Luis Antonio Jucheraud de St. Denis, chevalier of the royal order of St. Louis, and commandant of the post for the Most Christian King. Its population is not numerous in view of its age, since it is formed almost entirely of those born in it and contains very few foreigners. Its agriculture from the time of its founding to the present has consisted of maize, beans, sweet potatoes, vegetables, cotton, and tobacco of the superior quality found in the province. The inhabitants are very docile and faithful, as they have always been at all times to our monarch (whom God keep), and live in the greatest harmony. They are very much in debt and almost on the point of financial ruin on account of the unfortunate fact that His Majesty will not take the tobacco in the future, and more certainly because they have never experimented with any other branch of agriculture than that of tobacco, which they know in the highest grade of perfection.

There are in the post two companies of militia, one of infantry, and another of cavalry. There are plenty of young men to form a second cavalry company, which would be most useful for the security of this district, because of the large number of Indians in its neighborhood. It could also afford prompt aid to the province of Texas, which never rests from the war with the Apache and Lipan, enemies who penetrate as far as Orcoquisá, fifty leagues from here. These companies referred to are composed of very active men skillful in horsemanship as well as in the navigation of these rivers, and very well adapted to the hardest labors. There are plenty of cattle, much more than needed for the consumption of the post, enough horses, many hogs, few sheep.

The Red River, from the point where it flows into the Mississippi nearly to Santa Fé in New Mexico, where it has its source, measures more than four hundred leagues because of its windings, but it is not navigable with launches when the water is low. It abounds in fish as do its lagoons, and there are great numbers of ducks, geese, swans, and turkeys on its banks. The shores are not wide but after leaving its narrow flats the ground is firm, and on both sides there are pines, walnut trees, and oaks, many aromatic and medicinal plants,

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\* BL.

much fruit and many roots native to the country which serve as the food for the Indians. At about sixty leagues distance by land above this post there are immense plains on both sides of the river, with excellent soil, many wild animals such as buffalo, deer, elk, bear, and in the lakes of those plains many beaver, and otter. Consequently, game is the most abundant that can be desired and produces salt meat, tongues, tallow, lard, and peltry of different sorts.

This post and the capital are deprived of these provisions by the treacherous Osage who constantly wage the most cruel war upon us in this region as well as upon our Indian allies. Nevertheless they are admitted every year to receive presents at the post of St. Louis of Ylinueses, from which they are supplied with traders who carry the commerce to their villages. In this way they are furnished with arms and munitions with which to destroy the subjects of the King in the other posts of the province as they are doing without intermission. I do not doubt that in a short time these evils will reach the limit, and that the Osage will assault the farms and cattle ranches of the inhabitants of this post if Your Lordship does not take this point under careful consideration. They have just killed Zacarias Martin, citizen of this post, who with one of his servants left here in the month of October last year.

The Indian nations who are established on the banks of this river, and near its lagoons, are Apalachee, Pascagoula, Natchitoch, Yatasi, Kichai, Kadohadacho, and about two hundred leagues above this post are the Tawehash, Wichita, Niscani, and still further on the Comanche, who extend as far as Santa Fé in New Mexico. All of them are our friends.

This post is the boundary of the province of Texas in New Spain, and by its situation is a constant resort for people who come from that province and from all the posts and the capital of this province, with the object of trading in cattle, horses, and mules in exchange for goods. I cannot prevent this although the introduction of merchandise into that province is prohibited, because the merchants are scattered throughout my district. It would not happen if they were all established, as formerly, in the town at my side. This would be very expedient, not only to remedy this abuse, but also to prevent the illicit trade which they carry on along the coast in liquors. It attracts the Negroes especially and results in most evil consequences and infinite disorders as I am experiencing every day.

This post also, because of its situation, is a constant resort for the Indian nations of the province of Texas, who are very numerous. The reason for this is that they were supplied from this point by traders from the beginning of French domination until the year '79, when Don Athanasio de Mézières, former commandant of this post, went to San Antonio de Bexar, where he died. From that time the

commandant general of the interior provinces of New Spain conferred the office of purveyor general to those nations upon Don Josef María Armant, established in this district. The latter has lacked the means for several years with which to supply them, thus causing them to appear before me in large numbers, to ask me for presents and traders. Not having the power for this but knowing the indispensable necessity of satisfying them, I have been obliged to appeal to the respect and friendship which they profess for me in virtue of the memory of my predecessors, their first chiefs. I have also been obliged to give them food and some little presents, all at my expense. This I have done because it was conducive to the best service of the King and the safety of his subjects in this province as well as in that of Texas. Furthermore it complies with Article 3 of the instructions under which I administer this government for the pacification and tranquillity of the Indians. These are the two considerations to which I ought to contribute with every care.

In this post the edifice of the old fort is now completely fallen down and useless, with seven cannon, four swivel-guns, and twenty-four muskets, all in bad condition; and consequently there is no lodging for the commandant and the detachment who have it in charge.

This post, on account of its location, cannot be left without troops, for it is the general meeting point of whites and Indians, as I have already said, and also of the Anglo-Americans who are beginning to introduce themselves with passports from the commandants of the different posts of this province, a thing that is not at all desirable. I for one fear the evil conduct of these depraved people whom we have just cause to suspect, and ought to prevent from introducing themselves into the provinces of New Spain.

In brief, Your Lordship is instructed by this account concerning all the circumstances existing in this post and its district, and I do not doubt, from the distinguished character of Your Lordship, that you will be pleased to take measures in regard to the points discussed in every way that may appear expedient for the betterment of your subjects, which is the sole object to which I direct myself.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHES, *February 18, 1792.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

## BOWLES TO CREEK CHIEFS

*February 29, 1792<sup>1</sup>*ST MARKS *Feb<sup>y</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1792*

SIREs: In consequence of the letters I wrote to the King and Ministers of Spain, the Governor of New Orleans has directions to settle in a peaceable way with this Nation a line of commerce upon this coast, for that reason the Governor has sent a vessel to conduct me to New Orleans, and has declaired in his letter to me it is his intention to treat with me and to establish peace by doing away all falsehood that has so long plagued the Chiefs and us all—I request therefore that the Chiefs will rest quiet and take no steps that may create new uneasiness untill I return—for I shall consult the true Interest of the Nation and not deviate from it—Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Gillivray has passed himself upon the Spanish Governors as the absolute King of this Nation—however those things will be now explained away and all things set to rights—The officers has come for me assure me that there is presents for the Nation and hopes they will accept them in peace and continue friends & with me to distribute them to you all—And also promise to land me here again in forty days—at which time you may all expect to see me and hear a particular Account of my journey—and of all the business being settled to the convenience of both partys

And it is My orders that no American subjects come into the Nation untill my return as I have just received an express from them about the lines, which at our Meeting I shall explain and direct what is necessary to be done—

In the mean time I remain

your Most Sincere Friend

G<sup>1</sup> WM A BOWLES

D<sup>or</sup>. Affairs C.N.

## BOWLES TO CAPTAIN OF VESSEL FROM THE BAHAMAS

*February 29, 1792<sup>2</sup>*ST. MARKS, *Feb<sup>y</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1792*

SIR: I am obliged by business of a publick nature to go to New Orleans, however you may land what goods you have on board for me in care to the Indians I have appointed to receive it and either wait my return or depart as soon as you think Necessary Should you remain no Violence will be offered to you untill I see you and then you may depart that with more satisfaction than you will before.

I am Sir Your Obed<sup>t</sup> Se<sup>t</sup>

BOWLES

Cap<sup>t</sup> on board the Vessel that may arrive at Oaklokny.

[Note on the opposite fold of page]: Copy of a letter to the Cap<sup>t</sup> on board the Vessel to arrive at Oaklokny dated Feb<sup>y</sup> 29 1792. St. Marks Appalache.

<sup>1</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

<sup>2</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

## BOWLES TO CARONDELET

*March 14, 1792*<sup>9</sup>NEW ORLEANS *March 14th 1792*

SIR: I have already informed your Excellency that I have come to this Town, in order to do away all misunderstanding between the Creek Nation, and his Catholic Majestys subjects in this Country, in order to that and it is necessary that I should give your Excellency a more particular account of the state of affairs in that Country—

The Creek Nation are the original inhabitants of all the Country called by Europeans East and West Florida, and extend as far north as the 36<sup>th</sup> degree of North Latitude, into what is called the state of Georgia. The Cherrokees are the original inhabitants of all the Country to the north as far as the Ohio; These two Nations have some time past united into one Nation and formed a council consisting of their Chiefs, whose resolves guided the Affairs of the Whole Nation—and the Military force that was swayed by the dictates of this Council amount to 20,000 Men.

The United Nation have lately compleeted an Alliance with the Indians to the north as far as the Lakes of Canada—This wise policy (*compleeted by me*) at once puts an end to the designs of those who pursued the cruel policy of arming the Indians against one another—And we now have the happiness to reflect that the Indians of North America, who has so long been made the dupes of European Politics, have at last seen their own interest to unite in one common cause, and under the influence of this Revolution in their affairs, they have already experienced such benefits as will fix them every day more firmly in the steady pursuit of this new and wise policy,—This is little known to the White people, but must be hereafter considered, with regard to Indian Politics—

The Creeks from their local situation, in the neighbourhood of his Catholic Majestys province of Louisiana and the Towns and Forts in both East and West Florida—look towards his Majesty as a natural Allie, and now beg leave to improve their situation into a more close connection and union with his Catholic Majestys interest—

For this purpose I now come forward to offer my service to his Catholic Majesty, and promise, not only to establish a secure barrier between the United States and do away every apprehension of an attack from that Quarter, but will prevent any Power that may hereafter differ with his Catholic Majesty, from gaining any part of the Indians over to their Interest—

Should your Excellency, (after an inspection of my conduct) think

<sup>9</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

proper to accept of my service, I will lay before you a particular statement of the whole and think myself happy to acknowledge myself

Your Excellencys most sincere Friend and Humble Servant

WM A BOWLES

GEN<sup>l</sup> & D<sup>or</sup> AFFAIRS C.N.

His Excellency BARRON CARONDELET.

BOWLES TO CARONDELET

*March 17, 1792*<sup>10</sup>

No. 36.

*March 17th 1792*

SIR: I came here contrary to the opinion of the Chiefs, who suspected his Catholic Majestys subjects of treachery towards me—This suspicion arose from the reports of a few designing Men that you have in your Country, who have spared no pains to embroil us in a war against you—and should it be known in the Creek Nation that I am considered a prisoner in New Orleans there will be an end to all friendship between you and the Creeks—

Your Excellency must think from what is already passed that there is people in this town, who will seize the opportunity to exasperate the Creeks against you, by reporting this, and more, and it may be my misfortune, at last, to behold that catastrophe which I have laboured so hard to prevent—

There is at this time 470 soldiers of the United States that have fortified themselves within the borders of the Creek Nation, & the Georgians have two thousand militia ready to take any advantage that may offer in order to support the late Treaty made by McGillivray, and get possession of the Tom bigby and Mississipi—Should it be known to these people that I am absent from the Creek Nation, they will immediately come forward to support the party they had made in my last absence, and the whole Creek Nation may be turned Against you, from resentment—What will then happen you may Judge—

I have offered you my servise and with me the servise of the United Nation. I hope your Excellency will consider the present situation of affairs and concur with me, that something must be speedily done to prevent the confusion that threatens us all, and not wait the sad lesson of experience, when it will be too late—for my part I have but to serve the United Nation—to serve them I dispise danger & difficulty in every Shape.

In my letters to his Catholic Majestys Ministers dated 5<sup>th</sup> December 1791 I have explained the situation of our Country the advances made by our people, towards Civilization, Agriculture, and

<sup>10</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

all the cultivations that are connected with the blessings of Peace and of War, the oppression difficulties and inconveniences we labour under—the attempts made by the Americans to get possession of our Country & the designs they have against his Majestys colonies, And have offered an Alliance upon principles that are in my opinion highly advantageous to Spain, as they are the means to save the Spanish colonies in America—But as it is impossible to conclude a treaty at so great a distance as Madrid I have proposed that one or more persons should be authorized by His Majesty to come to this Country in order to inspect into the true situation, that they might be enabled to treat with their Eyes open—

What we ask of his Majesty, is, that we may be allowed ports in our Country, not for the admission of foreign vessels, but that we may export in vessels of our own the surplus produce of our Country, and that we may be allowed to enter his ports and purchase the articles we stand in need of by a fair Traffic, this will tend to bring the Nations more acquainted and unite them more firmly—In this situation rests the Treaty with Spain, since that time other occurrences have arisen which made me determine to see your Excellency in order to keep the Peace between us and carry the War against our mutual Enemies.

I am your Excellency's most obedient Humble servant

Gen<sup>l</sup>. WM A BOWLES  
Dr. Affairs C. N.

CARONDELET TO GUEST

*March 22, 1792*<sup>11</sup>

*Very confidential.*

As soon as you receive these two sheets of paper you will send them by the interpreter or any other trustworthy person to Usaches. The bearer will take advantage of the opportunity to make careful inquiries into what is going on in the nation as a result of the absence of Don William Bowles. He will determine whether there is any reason to suspect hostilities against us in case Bowles does not return, or whether the Lower Creeks are joining the Americans in revenge for his detention; and finally, if it is true that the latter have assembled on the frontiers of Georgia a numerous body in order to make certain of the demarkation of the boundaries proposed by McGillivray.

It is asserted that the latter has been expelled from the nation on account of his connections with the Americans. It is essential to verify all these points, and if it becomes necessary, in order

<sup>11</sup> BL.

to accomplish this, to promise some recompense or reward to an intelligent and safe person to go and mix with the Creeks in their meetings, you may assure him that whenever he sends in any true and important information he will be paid from the account of the royal treasury.

Do not put any faith in the reports given to you by the employees of the House of Panton, for this house is associated with McGillivray and consequently is determined to make it appear that he has much influence in the nation, which seems to me to be very doubtful.

I am sending on this date the order to the temporary commandant of Pensacola to reinforce that garrison with ten men, two cannon (six-pounders), and all the other supplies included in the statement which accompanies it, so that you will find yourself in a state to make a vigorous defense against any one who may venture to attack that fort.

You should exercise the artillerymen and some of the soldiers of the regular regiment in the practice of artillery every day, and if the magazines of powder and provisions are not secure, you will cover them with good beams on top in the form of a roof put on in such a manner that the ends of the beams of the two sides will meet, and so that the other ends will rest upon and be fixed in the ground.

In case you are compelled to yield in spite of a vigorous defense, you must render the artillery useless, by forcing into the cannon a ball placed in the crown of a hat.

In case the ship expected by Don William Bowles arrives from Providence or any other place, you will try to seize it, and you shall do the same with any strange vessel that may drop anchor on the coast. You will take an inventory of everything carried on board, and, after sending me a statement of it, with all papers found on the ship or on any persons who may come in it, you will send the boat with its captain and the other individuals to Pensacola as prisoners; and you will deposit the goods in the magazine of the fort until you are informed of my decisions. Notwithstanding that the savages will certainly be set against us because we take from them the goods mentioned, you will call George Barnett, and, showing him the inventory formed on the arrival of the boat, you will deliver to him in the presence of two principal chiefs of the nation all the trade goods it contained. To them you will say on my behalf that, notwithstanding the right of His Majesty to seize every foreign ship that approaches the coasts of his vast dominions in the Americas, I consent that these goods shall be delivered to the Indians so that they may make use of them and



at the same time perceive how greatly I desire to maintain a perfect peace with the Creek nation; for I shall not allow the Creeks to be harmed nor their lands taken from them during my government.

If you can persuade Prince Broken Arrow to come with about six principal chiefs to talk here with me concerning their differences with the Americans, I shall receive him with the greatest pleasure, and they will go back well-satisfied.

In case the cleaning of the moat is very necessary, you will employ in this work part of the garrison to whom there will be assigned a small daily gratuity; but in case it is not sufficient or there is any difficulty in the execution of this order, you will inform the commandant *ad interim* of the department of Pensacola, to whom I am writing in regard to this particular.

May our Lord keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 22, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO GUESTY.

CARONDELET TO FOLCH

*March 22, 1792*<sup>12</sup>

*Confidential.*

As soon as you receive these papers you will send them without any delay and with every care to McGillivray and to the commandant *ad interim* of Pensacola.

You will endeavor very cautiously to ascertain through the Indian hunters or traders all the steps taken by the Americans, the Creek nation, and also by McGillivray, in view of the fact that I have learned that the first named have assembled a considerable force on the frontiers of Georgia, with the object of protecting the demarcation boundary of Georgia with the lands of the Creek nation. The detention of Don William Bowles, who has embarked for Havana, may likewise cause some dissatisfaction between those Indians and ourselves of which the Americans may wish to take advantage.

The aforesaid Bowles assured me that the Americans have formed a settlement of more than sixty families above old Tombecbé. It is necessary to try to get our Indians to expel them from there before they become established in that place, and to incite these Indians with the promise of a good present when they accomplish it. If the Indians have not enough arms and ammunition to effect this, supply them by way of presents. Finally you ought to prevent, by means of the Indians, any settlement in that vicinity, and as far as you can, the introduction of Americans into the Indian towns. You will

<sup>12</sup> BL.

incite the latter to strip such vagabonds as they may find without passports, in order to clean these provinces of them, especially on the rivers of Mobile, Alabama (of the Alibamones), and Pearl. This you can easily do by making the Choctaws understand that in a short time the Americans will be owners of their lands, and of all the game which they will destroy if they are allowed to spread with impunity in every direction without opposition.

You will send to the commandant of the post of Tombecbé the same secret orders, which must be observed and put in execution with the greatest caution.

You will order that the artillery troops and some soldiers of the regular regiment which garrisons that fort be drilled in cannon practice, and you will direct that the artillery be placed immediately in a state for use so that everything will be ready to sustain a siege if it should be necessary. With this object you will inform me of any fault that you may find in the idea of garrisoning Mobile with 250 men.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 22, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

P. S. The letters for Pensacola have gone directly.

SEÑOR DON VICENTE FOLCH.

#### CORTÉS TO CARONDELET

*March 22, 1792*<sup>13</sup>

I am at present in this town with a commission from the Señor Commandant General of the Interior Provinces of the East of this New Spain, Colonel Don Ramon de Castro, to look into various important matters for the royal service. One of these, which gives great anxiety to my superior, is to prevent altogether the illicit trade with the Indians who commit hostilities upon the provinces in his charge. I am under the unavoidable obligation of bringing to Your Lordship's attention how much I need your assistance for the success of the plans to which the wise measures of my chief are directed, and for the complete fulfillment of that which he has been good enough to entrust to me.

Both objects, Señor Commandant General, will be accomplished without doubt only if in strict justice Your Lordship will take steps to prevent individuals of your jurisdiction from bringing in guns, powder, and ball through Opelousas and Attakapas to the nations of the Arkokisas, Bidais, Cocos, Attakapas and others. Although they are not declared enemies of these provinces, they support and

<sup>13</sup> BL.

maintain in their country the Lipan Apaches, and furnish them, in exchange for the horses and mules which they have stolen from us, the same ammunition which they themselves receive from the traders of the district of Louisiana. This is the only reason why the Lipan make the continuous and bloody war on us experienced by the provinces of Coahuila, Kingdom of Leon, Colony of Santander, and this province of Texas. Their inhabitants, crushed by the weight of the repeated attacks which they receive from such furious and well-armed enemies, are in the sad state of being compelled to abandon the little property and houses which the enemy has left them, in order to save their lives and not fall victims to those barbarians, who are treacherously trying to annihilate all the subjects whom the King has in these frontier territories; for the troops, kept in constant movement, cannot prevent all the injuries experienced by the unhappy inhabitants.

Therefore, Señor Commandant General, so that the desires of these inhuman beings may not be accomplished, and so that those of my chief may be brought about, I beg Your Lordship to be pleased to adopt a serious measure to cut off at its source the clandestine commerce which so greatly injures the subjects of our sovereign, so that there may be experienced by it the good results which have been produced by the well-devised measures of Your Lordship for the benefit of the Interior Provinces of the East of New Spain. Then my general may have the satisfaction of informing His Majesty and His Excellency the Viceroy, who now rules, how much Your Lordship has contributed to the peace and quiet of the four provinces which my worthy chief has in his charge, which, with sad lamentation, groan in their grief for the loss of their property, fathers, sons, and relatives, dead at the hands of these bloody enemies of God, of the King, and of the country.

May our Lord preserve the valued life of Your Lordship many happy years.

TOWN OF NACOGDOCHES, *March 22, 1792.*

JUAN CORTÉS (Rubric)

Señor Commandant General BARON DE CARONDELET.

#### PEOPLE OF COLE'S CREEK TO CARONDELET

*March 24, 1792*<sup>14</sup>

To His Excellency the Governor and Captain General in and over the Province of Louisiana and West Florida &c. &c. &c. . . .

We fondly hope Your Excellency will have the goodness to pardon us the presumption of expressing to you our fervent wishes that as a mark of distinction the town now erecting in our particular district

<sup>14</sup> BL, (English). A Pinart transcript.

may be honored with the name of our much respected and highly revered Governor Gayoso de Lemos. . . .

W. MURRAY, THOS. GREEN, THOS. MARSTON GREEN,  
HENRY GREEN, TITMER GREEN, ABRAM GREEN,  
EVERARD GREEN, PARKER CARRADINE, JAMES FINLEY,  
CATO WEST, ROBERT STARK, JOHN BROOKS,  
JOHN SMITH, V. HUNTER, THOS. CABOT.

COLE'S CREEK, *24th March 1792.*

#### GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO PEOPLE OF COLE'S CREEK <sup>15</sup>

To the Worthy & Respectable Inhabitants of the District of Coles Creek—

GENTLEMEN, Permit me to return you my most sincere and affectionate Acknowledgments, for the very flattering and Friendly Address with which, you have honored me. My Feelings are more intimately affected on this occasion, as I am about to be separated for a time from those, whose Interest, (whether absent or present) will always be dear to me. Your kind solicitude for my personal safety, is but a reiteration of that kindness and attention, which it will ever be my Pride, (as it has been my happiness,) to have uniformly received from your Hands.

I cannot but feel a sensible gratification in the wish you have expressed, that the Town now erecting in your vicinity should be known to posterity by my Name—At the same time, I feel the impropriety of interfering ostensibly in a Business, by which, I am to be so highly distinguished. But, Gentlemen as your Wishes have always the greatest weight with me, & most certainly should not be the less entitled to my Regard, because expressed in my favor, I will with pleasure forward any representation on this Subject which you may think proper to make to the Captain General.

You have flattered my Ambition greatly, in the hope you have excited, that by a strict attention to the Interests of those, over whom, I have the honor to Preside, I shall have it in my Power, to erect a more durable monument in the Hearts of a generous People & that I shall be considered, by your Posterity, in the number of those who had the happiness to possess, the entire confidence, & Friendship of their Ancestors.—

With the most fervent Prayers for Your Health & happiness, I have the honor &c.

<sup>15</sup> BL, (English). A draft without date.

## CARONDELET TO OLIVIER

*March 30, 1792*<sup>16</sup>

A copy of this was sent to Don Pedro Olivier, with an official letter of May 1, 1792.

I have been informed that Mr. James Seagrove has written to McGillivray at the direction of the President of the United States inviting McGillivray to a private conference at Rock Landing, where the demarkation of the boundaries agreed upon between the Creek nation and the United States is to be designated. Consequently I have determined that you shall accompany McGillivray in order to counteract any proposals that the aforesaid Seagrove may make contrary to the interests of Spain. In case McGillivray does not decide to go to Rock Landing, or objects very much to having you accompany him, you will go to that place, or any other place that may be selected for the conclusion of the treaty of boundaries, accompanied by a good interpreter, so that in the capacity of commissary of the King for the Creek nation you may guard against the settlement of anything in that congress contrary to the interests of that nation.

You should interfere by all possible means with the execution of the aforesaid treaty, and try to convince the nation that the concession of such a fertile and immense territory will place it inevitably in entire dependence upon the United States. You should explain that the latter are aiming, since their independence, at nothing less than the annihilation of all the Indian nations of this continent, in order to take possession of their lands. The limitless ambition of the United States will not be content with despoiling the nation of the land necessary for their hunting, and with separating it from the protection of Spain, but when the nation is once weakened and abandoned to its own strength, they will invent new claims, with the object of ejecting it from its native country. The Creeks' own preservation and that of their children urges them to draw near Spain, who has so disinterestedly protected them, and who is ready to defend them if they will conclude a defensive alliance with the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations, obligating themselves to be guarantors of the lands and possessions of all.

You will also tell them that this same alliance, supported by Spain, will discourage the United States from resorting to force, and will restrain their limitless and constant usurpations. Finally, if the Americans declare war on the Creek nation for the purpose of taking possession of the vast territory which they so unjustly claim, the King is ready to sustain the nation, to such an extent that orders are already given to furnish its warriors with arms and ammunition in abundance at Pensacola. If they fail to take advantage of this opportunity when

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<sup>16</sup> BL.

the Americans, being engaged in a disastrous war with the nations of the north, have their forces divided, they will not be able to avoid bending the neck to the hard yoke that will be imposed upon them.

You ought also at the same time to win over McGillivray, once and for all, by offering him an increase of his pension to the same amount as that assigned to him by the United States, from the moment when he breaks the treaty of boundaries and all private relations with the United States. Then hint to him that, if there is no other recourse left to us to prevent the ruin of the nation, we shall release Bowles, who has offered to unite all his forces against the unjust projects of the United States.

I have heard that there are plans proposed by the Americans for a congress of the five nations at Muscle Shoals. You should prevent the Creeks and Cherokees from taking part in the said congress, and propose to them on the contrary one of the same nations at Mobile, Natchez, or Pensacola, for the conclusion of the defensive alliance under the protection of Spain.

If you need money to go to Rock Landing I shall cause it to be given by the governor of Pensacola, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter, so that he will aid with his measures in the success of this important business. I am directing this gentleman also to furnish you with an efficient interpreter, who should also be a trustworthy person, to go to Rock Landing. In case you do not find any suitable person in the nation, there is a Spaniard established at that place for some years who could perform this task. A good payment would be given to him for all the time that he would be employed in the afore-said commission.

I have not yet received any communication from you, nor any reply to the three letters which I have sent to Tensaw for Don William Pantón.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 30, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON PEDRO OLIVIER.

PÉREZ TO MIRÓ

*March 31, 1792*<sup>17</sup>

No. 212.

The advantage which the savages obtained in the beginning of last November against the Americans when the latter were defeated, as I informed Your Lordship in my official letter No. 204, has caused many of the tribes to become extremely insolent. This is evident in their manner of speaking when they present themselves. There are some who threaten this district, as appears from various beads which are constantly passed from one tribe to another, with the

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<sup>17</sup> BL.

object of uniting and continuing warfare against the Americans. At the same time they are secretly encouraged by the English, who support them vigorously, and in the counsels which they give them, as some of the chiefs have told me, it is clear that they even try to persuade them to discontinue our friendship. All this is nothing else except the ambition of the English to obtain the commerce of the Missouri. If the tribes should succeed in holding an advantage over the Americans again, as they did before, this district would have no assurance against their attacks. In addition, the English themselves will take advantage of this opportunity to make the Indians believe that they have no reason to fear anyone, and that they are superior, not only to the Americans but also to the French and Spanish. This may prove most disastrous for us, especially since the country is defenseless to oppose them in case of an attempted attack.

The tribes of the Missouri up to the present moment are quiet. The Great Osages, notwithstanding the robbery which they committed against the traders who were on their way to the Kansas and Missouris, as the traders told me, conducted themselves well, without having done any harm to them. They further told me that the Osages had assured them the full value of their merchandise but, that unless traders were sent to them, they would seize those sent to other tribes, take them to their own and provide themselves with what they need, but without harming them. If it pleases Your Lordship, I would like you to determine what I should do concerning this matter. At the same time I should like to call Your Lordship's attention to the fact that, if measures are taken to remove the trade entirely from the Missouri in order to prevent the Osages from receiving anything, it will not be possible by these means to reason with them; on the contrary it will make matters worse, for it will be the cause of the entire loss of the commerce of the Missouri. Moreover, it might result in still worse consequences to the country; the other tribes which would be deprived of traders, through no fault of theirs, will carry on commerce with the English, who desire nothing more. The English would provide them everything necessary, either by themselves directly or through the medium of the tribes of the Mississippi, who will do it very easily without our being able to stop them. Besides, these same tribes who are deprived of merchandise will perhaps commit attacks and robberies, and we shall have them for enemies if they once became friends of the English, whose advice to them will certainly not be in our favor.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *March 31, 1792*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

Señor DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ

## CARONDELET TO THE COMMANDANT OF FORT TOMBECEBÉ

*April 3, 1792*<sup>18</sup>

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE COMMANDANT OF THE FORT OF TOMBECEBÉ

*1st:* On his arrival at the post of Tombecbé he will endeavor to acquire exact information regarding the situation, population, and state of defense of the Fort of Tombecbé. Because of the importance of this post to the royal service, he must exercise every care in its maintenance.

*2nd:* In order to put it in a state to resist attack by a body not supported by cannon of larger caliber, I have ordered that inside the stockade, which the said fort has around it at present, its commandant shall cause another to be erected of stakes, four feet distant from the first stockade and five feet in height. In such manner by filling up the space between the stockade and the inner wall of stakes the whole will form a parapet five feet high, with a walk one foot in elevation, so that a soldier mounted on this can shoot with ease through the loopholes of the stockade, which remain unobstructed.

*3rd:* In order to safeguard the fort from the effect of the gunfire which may be directed from the heights which overlook it, I have arranged that there shall be sent from this city two eight-pounders, which, with the four four-pounders now at the said fort, and some grapeshot, will be sufficient to dislodge the savages and the hunters from the aforesaid highlands.

*4th:* Since the inner wall of which I have just spoken must be made quickly, the commandant of the Fort of San Estevan de Tombecbé will avail himself of his garrison by assigning to each soldier a compensation of two reales daily. He will do the same with some people from the town, and with the discharged men that the commandant of Mobile will send him in case he sees that the work is not progressing as rapidly as the present circumstances demand.

*5th:* In case the commandant of the Fort of Tombecbé learns with certainty that a force of more than a thousand men, supported by artillery of a caliber superior to his own, is advancing against him, he will evacuate the fort, retire with his artillery to Mobile by means of boats which the commandant of the last-named fort will have ready for this purpose. In case the retreat should be impossible, he should without fail throw his artillery into the river, or render it useless by forcing a ball placed in the crown of a hat into the cannon up to the breech.

*6th:* His relations with the inhabitants must be most friendly.



In case of attack they would prove most useful to him. He should therefore try to protect them against the savages, the American hunters, and other vagabond peoples of this nation. It must be understood that he must not admit into the settlement, much less into the fort, those wandering Americans against whom he must always incite the Indians to rob them of everything they carry, under the pretext that they are destroying their game. For the same reason he shall not give passports to any American, unless the latter is well-known.

*7th:* He will cautiously listen to any information given by all the Indian hunters and travelers of anything new that may occur in the American settlements or among the savage nations, particularly of what takes place on the Pearl, Mobile, and Alabama rivers, informing the government immediately of any news that may be of importance judging from the trustworthiness of the savage who delivered such information; said savage will be duly rewarded in this capital. A duplicate account shall be sent to the commandant of Mobile, so that he may in turn forward it to me without further delay.

*8th:* He must watch with the utmost care to see that no settlement shall be formed on the Pearl, Mobile, or Alabama rivers without the knowledge of the government. He shall try to convince the Indians that the Americans are entering their territories with the intention of despoiling them of their lands as soon as they are of a sufficient number, as they have done against the nations of the north, against the Shawnees, Cherokees, and lastly the Creeks; and that in order to prevent their total destruction it is indispensable that they shall form a defensive league and a guaranty of their territories, among the Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Shawnee nations, placing all under the protection of Spain, who will then powerfully aid them against all those who may wish to occupy their lands and commit hostilities against them.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 3, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

DE BLANC TO CARONDELET

*April 16, 1792*<sup>19</sup>

In an official letter of the 9th of last March Your Lordship notified me that it is necessary for the royal service that I inform you immediately and as concisely as possible of the present state of the Fort of Natchitoches under my command, and give a description of the fortifications. The information is as follows:

<sup>19</sup> BL.

*1st:* Is its shape square or pentagonal? To this I reply that at the time it existed it was square.

*2nd:* Has it a stockade or a moat? It has a stockade, with no moat.

*3rd:* How many cannon guard the fort, and of what caliber? There are seven iron cannon, one four-pounder, two three-pounders, and four two-pounders, with four swivel guns, all almost useless, without carriages, powder, or ball.

*4th:* What royal buildings are there and in what condition are they? They consisted of a main building for the commandant, which is the only one now existing, though absolutely useless; another very large one for the troops; an excellent magazine; two guard-houses; four sentry-boxes; one royal jail, and an oven. All these are noted in the plan-drawing which I have enclosed.

*5th:* How many men garrison the fort and how many are needed for its defense? A corporal and two soldiers are all that are at the post at present, and for its defense in case of war at least twenty-five soldiers would be necessary with their respective sergeant and corporals, and whatever Your Lordship may think suitable in artillerymen. I put confidence in my brave militiamen, and believe that only by sending around a drawing of a painted leg, a well-known symbol among all the Indian nations of this jurisdiction as well as of the provinces of Texas, I would instantly have at my command all the Indians who have voluntarily subjected themselves to my obedience, just as though my ancestors, their conquerors and benefactors, were still existing; for this symbol represents my grandfather, Don Luis Jucherau de St. Denis, founder of this post and of the first settlement which Spain had in the province of Texas, in conjunction with His Excellency, Viceroy Duque de Linarez.

This post, by its location, is a general meeting place for the peoples of all nations as the roads are open on all sides; the Indians of the Illinois, Miami, and Abenaki nations frequent these places often. The Chickasaw and Choctaw come in great numbers and cause me a great deal of trouble by their thefts of horses and cattle, which they kill on the cattle ranches of the inhabitants. Your Lordship will clearly see that this vicinity is very much exposed to attack. On the other hand, the Americans have introduced themselves in the entire province, and are well-informed of the locality and condition of all the posts and their roads. This post, by its location and that of the Indians of its dependence, is the barrier of the province of Texas of New Spain, and it is, in my opinion, of the greatest importance to the royal service to prevent the Americans from entering this region, as well as the Indians of Florida, who may seduce ours. Moreover I have a strong suspicion of a party of Chickasaw and Choctaw who spent all this winter with the Caddo.

Because of the powerful reasons presented herein, I expect that for the sake of the efficient administration of the government entrusted to your care, and the love and zeal you bear for the royal service, you will adopt such measures as may seem most advisable to you for the security and defense of this post. On my part, I offer as meagre proof of my infinite love and zeal for the royal service of my Sovereign, the land that is the most suitable for the building of a fort.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *April 16, 1792.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

LAS CASAS TO FLORIDABLANCA

*April 21, 1792*<sup>20</sup>

No. 18.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: The governor of Louisiana, the Baron de Carondelet, under the date of the 22nd of last month encloses for me a copy of the confidential official letter, No. 11, which he addresses to Your Excellency concerning the affairs of Don William Bowles. Under the same date I include a copy in case Your Excellency may not already have the original.

As a continuation of its contents I believe that I ought to inform Your Excellency of the following: The subsequent official letter which the same governor has forwarded to me enclosing a letter from Don William Wellbanks to his chief, Bowles; Bowles' arrival at this place where I put him under arrest in the Morro Castle, using decent treatment while assuring myself of his safe keeping; the document which he has given to me since his arrest; the remission which I am making of him to Cadiz at the disposition of the governor; and what occurs to me on this subject.

Under the date of March 28th last I gave an account of the imprisonment of Don William Bowles to the Señor Conde del Campo de Alange, in conformity with the royal order of May 20, 1790, which demands that I take up with the minister of war the correspondence bearing upon the disagreements of the Indians with the Americans, et cetera. I stated to him that I would detain Bowles here until I knew the will of the King. Nevertheless, I have decided to send him to Spain, taking into consideration that, if for the fulfillment of what His Majesty decides in the matter, it should be expedient to have Bowles here in person, he can be returned to this place at the same time that the royal order is issued. He will thus arrive here with it and nothing will have been delayed by his having been sent.

<sup>20</sup> AGI, Estado, Santo Domingo, leg. 9.

But if I should detain him here, and for the carrying out of the royal order it should be fitting that Bowles should go to Spain, the accomplishment would be delayed for a period of some five months. To this may be added that, were he to remain for a long time here in prison, it would not be difficult for him to deliver some paper to any English captain of the ships engaged in the slave trade by bribing some sentinel of the troop of this garrison which is composed of the dregs of the European regiments and of the presidios of Oran and Ceuta. If he were to succeed in sending papers to his second in command, Don William Wellbanks, and to the Indians with whom he has frequent communication from the Island of Providence, he might perhaps induce them to commit hostilities.

It is advisable to cut off the communication which the English continue to carry on from the Island of Providence with the Indian nations of West Florida, entering through the rivers Ocklockonee and Apalachicola to the west of our fort of San Marcos de Apalache between it and Pensacola. The governor of Louisiana suggests to me that a patrol of two frigates be established from the Island of Santa Rosa as far as the St. Johns River in order to intercept the boats which are headed for that coast. As the coast is very much obstructed with reefs and shallow water, the patrol could not be carried out except at a great distance from the coast, and, in such a case, there would be slight probability of capturing with frigates the small boats which can easily escape between the reefs. To this would be added the risk of causing difficulties between the governments if by chance one of the boats were captured on the high seas.

For this reason I have stated to the governor of Louisiana that it seems to me more to the purpose to send small boats. There are some adequate ones in the Mississippi, well-armed and equipped. By placing these boats between the coast and the islands of San Jorge and of the Perros, in which environs they can be hidden because these islands are thickly wooded, they could pursue any ship which might enter either of the two aforesaid rivers and capture it in them with more safety, and without the difficulty of being liable to compromise our government with that of London.

The governor of Louisiana in his official letter to Your Excellency reports the statements which Bowles has issued to discredit the proceedings and intentions of the mestizo Don Alexander McGillivray, and of the English house of Panton, established under the protection of His Majesty for trade with the Indians in both Floridas. A long time ago, I made known my lack of confidence in this leader of Indians, recognizing in the treaty which he made with the Confederate States on the 7th of August, 1790, the manifest infraction of the one he made with us in Pensacola on the first of June, 1784. I

am also firmly persuaded that he is interested with the house of Panton in the Indian commerce. There is evidence that he was one of those involved in the company of South Carolina for the projected settlements which McGillivray himself offered to oppose with all his forces. This makes me suspect McGillivray to be one of those men who have no other object than their own interests; but he may be less prejudicial than Don William Bowles whom I judge to be an emissary of the English government, working on a premeditated plan to arouse disturbances, either against our settlements or those of the Confederate States.

Since his arrest, his language has been designed to give to his previous operations a color advantageous to our interests, representing himself as a very bitter enemy of the United States, against whose machinations and projects of usurpation he was uniting the Indian nations who were to serve as a buffer under his direction. He offered to do this for Spain, but an examination of his conduct and his language before his arrest gives evidence that his operations were directed principally against us, rather than against the Americans. It is not known that he has done anything against the Americans save to dissuade the Talapoosa Indians from sending back the commissioners whom they had appointed for the demarcation of the boundaries agreed upon with the Americans; but his accursed proceedings with regard to us are as effective as pernicious, and of frightful consequences had he been able to continue the projects which they manifest.

In August of 1788, this same Bowles crossed to Florida with a troop of adventurers accompanied by the Indians from Providence, whose governor, it seems, was supporting him. With his following of some thirty-six Englishmen, who kept deserting him on his march by land, he penetrated into the same Talapoosa nation by way of the Mosquito River. His intentions were then to establish himself in Apalache, to assault the warehouse of Panton, to take possession of the commerce which we carry on with the Indians, and to continue it from there with the Island of Providence. In the year 1791, on his return from his journey to London, he again crossed from Providence to the same Talapoosa nation, entering by way of the Ocklockonee River near Apalache. After he had won over some followers in that nation, he threatened the destruction of the settlement of McQueen, a rich planter and colonist of East Florida, and the warehouse which the firm of Panton has in the same province on the St. Johns River. He attacked the one which the same firm has in the neighborhood of the fort of San Marcos de Apalache. He began his desired settlement on the Ocklockonee River at four or five leagues from the aforesaid fort, first having written from a nearby village to the governor of Pensa-

cola his letter of December 4th, in which is disclosed his wicked and daring plan. He ventured to set forth in it some principles and initiate some claims, which, were they realized, would represent the ruination of that province.

Bowles demands in that letter free navigation of the coast of West Florida. He assumes that the Indians have a right to it and immediately puts this plan into effect, beginning by sending five hundred men, as he says, to the seacoast to take possession of the ports. He asks in insulting terms that orders be given that no violence be done to the ships or persons who enter or leave those ports which he already presumes to be his, calling them "our ports." He threatens to regard anything to the contrary as a breaking of the peace and to act accordingly. In the same threatening tone he advises the governors of His Catholic Majesty to take the matter under advisement seriously and declares that, if through any incivility or ill-advised conduct they oblige him *to begin hostilities and join with the Americans*, the consequences will be serious for Spain.

This document, which is an exposition of his principles and his ideas when he was at liberty, shows that his plan was to establish a new system among the Indians and open a direct commerce between them and the English colonies (although he was only speaking now of the Spanish colonies), and stirring up disputes with us over the subject of the ownership of the ports and coasts of Florida.

I cannot help being convinced that in both points he was aided and abetted by the English government in order to take possession of the commerce of the southern Indians, and consequently of the influence and direction of their operations as it has among the northern Indians by means of the retention of the forts which it should have transferred to the Americans by virtue of the last treaty of peace. Neither do I doubt that Bowles is a salaried emissary of the same government. The captain of a ship in the slave trade which is in this port affirms that Bowles receives a gratuity from the government of London, and he submitted evidence of certain amounts paid to Bowles, together with the place and person from whom he received them. Captain Don Pedro Rousseau spoke to Bowles of this and he was unable to deny it. He confessed that for some time he had received it but afterwards, considering it indecorous to receive a salary from a Sovereign in whose service he no longer was, he had given it up.

The letter which his second in command, Wellbanks, addressed to him at New Orleans, but which the governor of Louisiana has not forwarded, confirms this. The parcels of letters from Providence which are mentioned in it could be merely commerical; but those from London and Canada, for some men involved in difficulties among the southern nations of Indians, indicate relations dependent upon the

English government, in whose service the aforesaid Wellbanks is found in the capacity of "lieutenant of hunters," according to the signature of his letter to the governor of Louisiana on the 8th of March of this year.

It might be true, as Bowles states, that McGillivray is discredited among the Indians, who had resolved upon his death. If later, by some of those maneuvers that are wont to occur because of changes in political system, we were to find ourselves in alliance with England against some power, which might be in alliance with the United States, I am persuaded that Bowles might be of great service in the guidance of the Indian nations. Were we to discover some means of engaging the interest of Bowles which would assure us of his good faith, I think it would be advisable, for I consider him possessed of qualities very appropriate for such a commission. But in any other event, and persuaded as I am, that Bowles is working for the English government, I consider him very dangerous among the Indians, as much against the United States as against us. My opinion would be to transfer him as a prisoner to the Malvinas Islands, or another place unfrequented by foreign or domestic ships, from which it would not be possible for him to escape.

The governor of Louisiana, in his official letter to Your Excellency, asks the rank of captain in the army for the naval ensign, Don Joseph Hevia, and the full salary of his rank for the retired captain, Don Pedro Rousseau, who enjoys only the pay of lieutenant. It seems to me that this action would give an undue importance to a matter which, although of useful results, has not required great effort in its execution. I approve the salary for Don Pedro Rousseau after letting four or six months pass, because it is to be paid to an individual who has served with distinction in the war and who, in this case, has performed promptly the duties which corresponded to his position. He was responsible for Bowles, who was placed in his charge, and afterwards he was similarly responsible for him when he brought him from New Orleans to this place. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the merits and services of Don Joseph Hevia, but I find that on this occasion he proceeded with little circumspection in the manner of arresting Bowles.

Bowles accuses Pantón of an alliance with McGillivray in opposition to our interests. I believe that Bowles would like to destroy both in order that he might be the McGillivray among the savages, and that his friend from Providence might be the Pantón for the commerce among them. Pantón most assuredly gives some compensation to McGillivray in his commerce, and I believe that he does well. Pantón is an English subject who, though he has sworn an oath of obedience and of conformity to the laws, etc., has refused to become naturalized as a Spaniard and has stipulated that he is to be permitted

to withdraw in case of war with Great Britain. Probably he is thinking of returning to settle in his native land when he has saved the capital which he has planned for himself. I am convinced that his heart is probably more inclined to the British than to the Spaniards, but I imagine that this will be within the bounds permitted to a conscientious man settled in a foreign country—that is to say—abstaining from every act offensive to the government of the country where he lives; and as a matter of fact, I cannot say that Pantón has failed in this respect. I can state definitely that he conducts himself honestly and in conformity with the government, and to all appearances in good faith. Nevertheless, it would be advantageous to begin introducing Spaniards into this Indian commerce, and this could be brought about by associating with this house some young men who would already have a general knowledge of commerce and some elements of the English language. Pantón and his associates would offer no objection to admitting them.

The secretary of the government of Florida, Don Carlos Howard, who was here about the middle of last year, declared to me that Pantón himself, and Leslie, his partner, had revealed that they would gladly receive either as clerks or associates those Spaniards whom the King might desire to have appointed. But if they came as associates, they ought to deposit in the company a capital of sixty or eighty thousand pesos. It is in this category that it would be most advisable to place the Spaniards, because nothing would be hidden from them in the business of the house, and they would become thoroughly acquainted with the management of its affairs. The governor of Florida, Don Vicente Zéspedes, indicated something of this sort to the Señor Marqués de Sonora in the representation of preference, No. 184, of the 24th of March, 1787. Your Excellency will investigate the importance of this matter; and if you judge it to be profitable, you will find the means of carrying it out; but I doubt that an individual who possesses such capital would decide to risk it in an unknown business, and come to establish himself in such a miserable occupation.

From the information I have given in this official letter, Your Excellency will have seen the bases on which Bowles was building his project. He took for granted that the coast of West Florida and its ports belong to the Indian nations of those districts. Had I been called upon to discuss this point, I would have found myself embarrassed to refute it with documents. I am captain general of Louisiana and the Floridas, and I am ignorant as to what are their boundaries, and the line which separates the territories which belong to the King from those which belong to the Indians, because the secretariat of these captaincies general, created without a secretary, official, or even a clerk and shifting about in following its first



captain general, the Conde de Gálvez, from New Orleans to Havana and then to Mexico, lacks both information and documents, and because at the time the English surrendered Florida to us I believe no care was taken of demanding that they deliver to us the documents of their boundary treaties with the Indians. The enclosed copy of an answer from Don Estevan Miró, who has been for ten years the governor of Louisiana, will prove to Your Excellency how vague is the information which is possessed concerning the extent of the boundaries.

The Governor himself, who passed through here, speaking of the possession of the lands on the coast of West Florida, made known to me his understanding that they belonged to the Indian nations, and that we had only what was under the cannon of our fortresses. The boundaries indicated in the instruction of Your Excellency, dated the 29th of July, 1784, do not, I believe, have any relation to the ownership of lands insofar as the Indians are concerned. Rather do they refer to the boundaries of the United States, since the protection offered in the name of the King by Article 13 of the Treaty of Pensacola in 1784 to the Indian nations guarantees the lands which they possessed *within the boundaries of His Catholic Majesty*. Otherwise it would be necessary to despoil the entire nations of Creeks, or Talapoosas, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and others, whose ownership of the land I do not think the English government had attempted to dispute while it was in possession of both Floridas.

Concerning the boundaries between the Indian nations and the power possessing the Floridas, there is not in the secretariat of this captaincy general any document which shows them; nor have I other information than that offered in the enclosed simple and incomplete copy which the secretary of the governor of Florida, Don Carlos Howard, had acquired through curiosity and which he gave me last year when he was in Havana.

According to it, the chiefs of the Creek nation on the 12th of November, 1768, held a congress at Augusta with Don Juan Stuart, agent for Great Britain and superintendent of the affairs of the Indian nations. They ratified different special agreements on boundaries made between both parties, and these, insofar as the coast of West Florida is concerned, establish as the boundary a line drawn from the St. Johns River to that of Apalachicola, and from the latter to the river which empties into the Bay of Santa Rosa, crossing all the rivers and channels which lie between these places at the point of high tide. In this case all the coasts and ports of West Florida are formally ceded by the Indians to Great Britain, whose rights have been transferred to Spain. I do not know what may be the authenticity of this document.

Your Excellency will recognize how pernicious is the uncertainty

on these points for the officials of these regions, and how much weakness in their operations results from the uncertainty of doubtful information. While they possessed the northern continent, the English always maintained an officer called by the title of "Indian commissary" with a salary of a thousand pounds sterling a year. He was charged only with matters relating to the Indians and he gave much care to them.

The United States imitated the English in this respect and already have made various treaties with the different nations of Indians with definite demarcation of boundaries which are found in a volume printed in New York under the title of *Laws of the United States of America*.

The provinces of Louisiana and the Floridas are already, because of their situations, of an importance which demands the attention of the government in order to counteract the excessive ambition of the United States, which aspires to absorb all of the northern continent; and in order to curb or retard its vast designs, it is necessary to keep all the Indian nations united. These, the United States will endeavor to disunite in order to exterminate them successively. And we should endeavor to keep the Indian nations on our side and always take care that they do not sell lands to the United States.

In order to follow this plan, some expenses will be inevitable. I believe it is very wise to create, in imitation of the English, an office of Indian commissary, destined solely for these purposes in order to be constantly on the look-out for whatever is done and to promote whatever is to our interests, etc. I think that the present secretary of the government of Florida, Don Carlos Howard, captain of Grenadiers of the Regiment of Cuba, would be suited for the office. He is an individual of mature judgment, capable, well-informed and one who has earned the esteem of the two governors under whose orders he has served. He has held commissions of trust which he has fulfilled with satisfaction, and is well-versed in the affairs of that continent, and in those relating to the Indian nations.

I beg Your Excellency that, examining the contents of this official letter, you will be kind enough to make known to His Majesty that which you consider to the interest of his royal service.

May God keep Your Excellency many years.

HAVANA, April 21, 1792.

LUIS DE LAS CASAS (Rubric)

His Excellency the Señor CONDE DE FLORIDABLANCA.

PEREZ TO MIRÓ

*April 26, 1792*<sup>21</sup>

No. 213.

There is no news at all at present in this district, for everything is now quiet and tranquil. Only the nations of the Sauk and those of the upper Mississippi continue to send around the collars among the others, in order to induce them to unite to make war upon the Americans. Notwithstanding the threats they make to those who do not accept the collar, up to now only one chief of the Ottawa and another of the Puz have accepted it. The rest have refused it, particularly the Sauk, Renard, Mascouten, and Kickapoo, with others who are the strongest and nearest to us and friendly to this district. As to the Americans, we have not the least news from any source in regard to them, all being in a state of the greatest silence.

A party of Sauk who went to fight the Osage succeeded in killing three men and taking two prisoners. Another party of the same nation of the Sauk has also gone to war against the Osage. There is no doubt that, if the Sauk, Renard, and Kickapoo wish to continue making war on the Osage, they will succeed in terrorizing them and cause them to come to reason without any necessity for us to become implicated in a war with them which might be very prejudicial to the country on account of its present situation.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *April 26, 1792*.

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

BLOUNT TO GOVERNOR OF WEST FLORIDA

*April 27, 1792*<sup>22</sup>

Territory of the United States of America South of the River Ohio.—

KNOXVILLE *april 27th 1792*

SIR: I beg leave to commence a correspondence with you by tendering you my congratulations on your appointment and arrival to the Government of West Florida and to assure you it will afford me a great Pleasure to render or reciprocate you in good Offices:— And by requesting your attention to a demand that a Citizen of this Country Colonel Elijah Robertson of the District of Mero has on a Mr. Bushnall heretofore also a Citizen of this country but

<sup>21</sup> BL.

<sup>22</sup> BL, (English).

now a resident in your Government. I have the honor to be with the highest respect

Sir your Most Obedient Humble Servant

WM. BLOUNT

His Excellency the Governor of West Florida &c. &c. &c.

PORTELL TO ROBERTSON

*May 6, 1792*<sup>23</sup>

No. 6.

NEW MADRID 6<sup>th</sup> May 1792

SIR: I had the honour of receiving your favour bearing date the 13<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup>. last, which Indicated that all good Nighbours ought to preserve one with another, a Strike union and Sincere harmony, Which is the Genial System of my Nation, uniformly join'd with the purest ties of humanity, to which we only are accustom'd.

By virtue of what you mention, I called in a Deleware Indian Named Raccoon, which you pointed out to me in your Letter, having interrogated him for what raison he had gone to Cumberland River to Commit any Depredations, knowing it was a place where there only resided our friends and Brothers, he return'd for answer, that for above those two Years past he had not gone from this place, only to go a Hunting, and then he never went out of the Jurisdiction of this Post, his raison for so doing was, that he might have no Dispute with any person, and live in Tranquillity with the world in General, but at the Same [time] he was not ignorant that Some of his Nation had done mischief, particularly at Cumberland, but that those Indians did not live under the Government of this place, it was a Band of Delewares Settled on the other Side of the Mississipi upon a Small river, at Same time nam'd the Indian that headed the party, he is Commonly Called the Great Capot, This I belive from the Seeming Sincerity of Raccoons answers to my interrogations—

Nevertheless I made him promise by the Name of His Catholic Majesty My Master, that he Shall live in friendship with every one that is at peace with His Majestys Subjects, and in consequence ought to take every Citizen of the United States by the Hand, as it was my particular desire and which he Should observe punctually—

Notwithstanding those injunctions to Raccoon I order'd in two Chiefs the one a Shawano, the other a Chirokee, which promis'd the same as the other had done, but as an Indians promis is not to be Depended on, its Nessesary to be upon your Guard, as I cannot be responsible for their Conduct when away from this place—

<sup>23</sup> BL, (English).

I have been informed that a Certain M<sup>r</sup> Morris and Some others Citizens of the United States, has Stole horses at Different times from the Indians, most probably those men has been the means of exciting the Indians to do the Same thing. The said Morris has Tasted of the fruits of his Roberies, he passed here Last Fall on his way to New Orleans having almost lost the use of his right Leg, Owing to two wounds he received from the Indians when a hunting, besides the Loss of all his property—

All the Indians that Comes to this place of whatever Nation they may be, I will do my endeavours to Keep them peaceable and make them promis to live in peace and friendship with the Citizens of the United States—Should they have any complaints to make against Said Citizens I will write you on that Subject, in consequence of the offers you make to me, as it may be the means of rendering Justice to both parties—

I have a Thorough Sensibility of the honour you confer on me in desiring a Continuation of my Correspondence, to which I submit with the Greatest pleasure, at the Same time excuse any omission I may have made in this—

I request it as a favour, if you Should choose to pass Some few days in this Solitary place, it will give me the Greatest pleasure to receive you into my Lodgings where you may expect every good reception due to Your Merit—

I wrote in the Language of your Nation, the raison is my having more Confidence in the person that writes it, than in any one here that writes French—

I am Sir Your Most Obed<sup>t</sup> & very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

TOMÁS PORTELL

General JAMES ROBERTSON

PÉREZ TO MIRÓ

May 7, 1792<sup>24</sup>

Mr. Lorimier, who is one of the persons who serves on special occasions as interpreter for the Shawnee, Peoria, and Luz Abenaki nations, has written to tell me that from various conversations he has had with the Luz he understands that they feel ill-disposed towards this district. According to his way of thinking it can proceed from nothing less than the influence of some foreign nation. He promised me to pay particular attention and to inform me of anything that he learns about this or any of the other nations that are united to the Luz and are settled in this district, and with whom he holds constant communication. As a result of this information I have warned

<sup>24</sup> BL.

the commandant of Ste. Geneviève to keep careful watch. I am also writing to the commandant of New Madrid to notify him of what Mr. Lorimier tells me, so that he may guard against any attacks which the Luz may attempt in that district, and so that he may at the same time warn the boats going up the river to take the greatest precautions against a surprise attack.

I have no doubt that it is the English who are influencing the Luz with evil counsels, for the principal chief of this nation is one of those who has passed around the collars to the others to induce them to continue warring upon the Americans, threatening them if they do not accept the collars. Up to the present, however, they have not accepted them. Mr. Lorimier also tells me that the Shawnee, who are the principal allies of the Luz, think very differently regarding this district.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS OF YLINUESES, *May 7, 1792.*

MANUEL PEREZ (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

#### QUESADA TO LAS CASAS

*May 10, 1792*<sup>25</sup>

No. 2610

The Governor of Florida encloses a deposition of the testimony given by Benjamin Watkins, resident of Providence and pertaining somewhat to the activities of Bowles.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Considering that which pertains, even remotely, to the activities of the well-known Bowles may be of great importance to you, I enclose the attached deposition of a testimony which, at the request of the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, I ordered to be taken here from Benjamin Watkins, citizen and native of Providence. Having escaped from that island in his own schooner with another man's wife, he went first to that place and then from there to this place without a passport from you.

May God keep you many years.

ST. AUGUSTINE, *May 10, 1792.*

Most Excellent Sir,

JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON LUIS DE LAS CASAS.

<sup>25</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 1436.

## CAMPBELL TO CARONDELET

*May 11, 1792*<sup>26</sup>

Territory of the United States South of the  
River Ohio, Mero District. *May 11th, 1792*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY: You will learn of Mr. Fagot who promises to deliver you this communication, my office and character. The principles of the American Government of the United States are founded on Universal philanthropy.

Treaties are declared by the national Government to be the supreme Law of the Land, and are to be observed and kept sacred and inviolate. Before a Government is properly organized some outrages may be committed for which the community at large ought not to be censured.

I can assert to your Excellency in the language of truth, that since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the people are disposed to submit willingly to the Laws and obey the officers of Government. In holding Court this week in this District I have been a witness to the orderly Disposition of the people of the District of Mero. Be assured no merauding parties from this country will be countinanced or permitted.

We hope If your Excellency has any influence over the Creek or other tribes of Indians, who are troublesome to this Country, you will endeavour to prevail on them to desist from their outrages against inoffensive & unguarded families.

I am with due Respect Your Excellency's Most Ob<sup>t</sup>. Hbl. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

DAVID CAMPBELL.

[Addressed:]

His Excellency Monsieur le Baron de Carondelet Brigadier of the Army, Inspector of the Royal Troops, Governor and Intendant General of the Province of Louisiana. New Orleans. Mr. Fagot.

## ROBERTSON TO CARONDELET

*May 25, 1792*<sup>27</sup>

NASHVILLE, *25th May 1792*—

SIR/

I have not the pleasure of being personally acquainted with you, but hope the justice of my application will be a sufficient appology for my troubleing of your Excellency. I was Security for a company of Merchants in this Country for Eight Thousand one hundred

<sup>26</sup> BL, (English).

<sup>27</sup> BL, (English).

and twenty five pounds Eusebius Bushnell was the only one of the Company who was possessed of a considerable property, he has absented himself from this Country in a clandestine manner, and conveyed his property to his friends, so that the laws of the United States cannot take hold of it, and is now an Inhabitant of the Appelucies. I intended to have waighted on your Excellency in person, but being called on by the Creditors am engaged at this time in discharging the debt; and have employed Mr. Fargo a Gentleman of Integrity and in high esteem amongst the Americans to waight on you in my behalf, who will hand to you the Judgement obtained against me, I need not be more explicite as I am sencible of your Excellencys readiness to see justice Administered to every individual.

I have the honour Sir to be with much Esteem and regard your Excellencys most Obedient Humble Servant

ELIJAH ROBERTSON

[Addressed:]

His Excellency Monsieur le Baron de Carrondelet Brigadier of the Armys Inspector of the Royal Troops Governor and Intendant General of the Province of Louisiana New Orleans.—

Hon<sup>d</sup>. by Maj. FAGOT

ROBERTSON TO CARONDELET

*May 25, 1792*<sup>28</sup>

NASHVILLE TERRITORY OF THE STATES SO. OF THE RIVER OHIO

SIR: The honor I have heretofore had of corresponding with Governor Mero in commemoration of whom our District is denominated and the peculiar situation of our Country embolden me to adress your Excellency; and my diffidence is somewhat lessened when I recollect your Excellency's known reputation and regard for humanity and the happiness of mankind in general.—Our Situation Sir is truly distressing. Providence seems to have assigned us the ineligible task of standing as a Barrier between the Merciless Savages and our Eastern Brethern.—All Nations have their exposed and Vulnerable parts, which is our situation with respect to the eastern States of America.—We are exposed to almost every species of Barbarity which the mind of an enraged and furious savage can invent.— Such being our Situation and knowing that the United States are in alliance with his Catholic Majesty, and being apprehensive that some of the Southern nations of Indians are engaged in hostilities against us; your Excellency's fame for liberallity and regard for the peace & happiness of Man recurs to my mind with more than usual energy and emboldens me to request the

<sup>28</sup> BL, (English)



interposition of your Endeavors to keep the southern tribes of Indians in peace and tranquility with regard to us

A report has originated from your Excellency's province I believe that the Federal Government has in contemplation to carry an Expedition against his Most Catholic Majesty's Subjects in Louisiana; This report I can assure your Excellency is entirely groundless, as I never heard such an Idea suggested here, unless by some of the lowest and most worthless Characters.—

Mr. Fagot the bearer of this has been sometime in this Country endeavoring to repair some losses he has sustained: he is esteemed among us as a Spanish Subject and whilst here has ever sustained the most unblemished Character.— He had a considerable quantity of property in one of the Indian villages called Cold Water against which an Expedition was carried on by the people of this Country some time past in consequence of injuries supposed to have Originated from it's inhabitants: it was destroyed and in it's wreck Mr. Fagot met with a considerable loss.—Our Government here is not yet compleatly Organized so that no relief can as yet be afforded him by it, but an Assembly is expected shortly to be called which will have it compleatly in it's power to consider & compensate his losses, and I am induced to believe that from the high Estimation in which he is held in this Country independent of natural justice he will meet with relief by means of a tax for that purpose.—It is also ardently wished in consideration of his Misfortunes that he may be permitted to carry on a Commerce among us which should it be consistent with your Excellency's views we flatter ourselves that your Excell<sup>cy</sup>. will by pecuniary means facilitate Mr. Fagot so far as to enable him to proceed in establishing a Trade in this part of the world

By favoring us in this respect as well as with regard to our Savage neighbours your Excellency will confer a lasting obligation on every individual of this District and on me in particular as well from the deserved esteem I have ever entertained for Mr. Fagot during our acquaintance of Eight years, as from the regard I owe to the peace and happiness both of my own Country and Mankind in general.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect Your Excellencys most devoted & Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JAMES ROBERTSON (Rubric)  
Brigad<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Mero District.

25<sup>th</sup>, May 1792.—

P. S. The Federal Government is about to conclude a treaty with the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes of Indians in order to promote peace & tranquillity.—It is hoped your Excellency will countenance the Measure—J. R.

REGULATION FOR THE TINSA DISTRICT <sup>29</sup>*Orders to Which the Inhabitants of Tinsa Must Conform**Article 1<sup>st</sup>.*

All The Inhabitants of the district without Exception will inform the Commandant of the strangers that come to their houses, six hours after their arrival (unless it be in the night) if the plantation be near, but in case of its being anywise distant, in one day; when the strangers must come and give an account of themselves, & their Business, in order that it may be known if their stay will be hurtfull to the country.

*Article 2<sup>d</sup>.*

There being in the district, a number of vagabonds who have no way of subsisting but by Robbing & thieving; and are only a burthen to more honest people who gain their Bread by the Sweat of their Brow; in order to prevent such idleness & sloth which is of the greatest Consequence; All those who do not in the Space of Eight days apply themselves to some decent work whereby they may gain their Bread shall be banished from the district, & in case of their refusal they shall be driven away by force; & by these presents all inhabitants are forbid to receive such into their Houses.

*Article 3<sup>d</sup>.*

The inhabitants must not allow fire arms to their negroes unless it be to hunt with & then they must have a written permission from their Masters—when Slaves are sent any distance from their homes they must have a permission in writing from their masters; which if their master cannot write he must get some of his neighbours to do, to prevent negroes from running away and other damages—but in case they have not far to go, it will not be necessary, in order that masters may not be prevented from sending their negroes on their necessary business; but in case of any of them being taken up for Runaways, masters must pay to the person who takes them at the rate of a Dollar Pr League which however must not exceed five Dollars even if the distance is more than five leagues; and that masters may have time to advise their negroes of this regulation it shall not be put in Execution until 15 days after the date hereof—

*Article 4<sup>th</sup>.*

In order to prevent abuses, no Inhabitant must buy horses from the Indians nor from any Stranger without giving notice thereof to the Commandant that he may judge whether the parties can with

<sup>29</sup> BL, (English). There is another copy of this order in Bancroft Library dated May 27, 1792 signed by Josef Deville Degoutin and John Keli. There are minor variations in the texts of the documents.

propriety & without suspicion of mal-practice do such a thing, and for this trouble he will exact no fees.

*Article 5<sup>th</sup>.*

All the Inhabitants old and new who have not taken the oath of Fidelity must appear at the Commandant's House to do so in the space of eight days, in which time if they do not whosoever is guilty must leave the district—but this article does not mean the passengers or people who come there only about their particular business.

*Article 6<sup>th</sup>.*

Inhabitants who are caught selling with false weights or measures, or who adulterate their liquors, or who Buy or Sell from negroes without written permission from their masters, shall be punished severely—Their Crime shall be made appear & they shall be sent to Mobile, where the Commandant of that place will dispose of them as the Governor General shall direct.

*Article 7<sup>th</sup>.*

No Inhabitant must absent himself from the District without a passport from the Commandant, as this is requisite and necessary to distinguish the Good from the Bad.

*Article 8<sup>th</sup>.*

In order to prevent the repeated complaints that occur from the disorder that is unavoidable at the time of collecting the cattle—This must not be begun until the 20<sup>th</sup> of March nor shall they mark the calves until the first of May—When all the cattle are collected, which ought to be in all the month of April, Each Inhabitant in particular must deliver me a note mentioning the cattle or horses not belonging to him which he finds amongst his stock; this he must do twice a year viz the last of April when the cattle are drove in and the latter end of October when they are let out; and in case of disobedience of this order the person in whose hands any cattle is found belonging to other persons shall be fined (after returning the cattle to their owners) their full value in money without even allowance for feeding them, and if any other damages should be sued for they will recover in the Courts—

*Article 9<sup>th</sup>.*

These orders shall circulate from the plantation of Cornwallis Doon from House to House unto the plantation of Belly Terwin and all the inhabitants must sign it or declare before witnesses that they have read & will obey the same; that I may see by the list I have got of this District whether there is any one who has not & inform myself of his reasons for the same to punish him as he shall deserve—

This paper Belly Terwin is to keep untill I shall order him to deliver it—

JOHN SNIDER, JUN <sup>R</sup> .	JOHN WRD	(X) Cruz de SAMUEL GRIFIN
GERALD BYRNE	ROBERT KILLCREASE	RICHARD BAILEY
	REUBIN DYER	
	MICHAEL MILTON	
ROBERT LAIRD	I. FINNEY	ARTHUR RYALS
		(X) Cruz la q <sup>e</sup> ha hecho
		GUILLERMO GRIFIN
(X) Cruz de GINIS TADRECHE		(X) Cruz de LAGE BUCHOPS
(X) Cruz de CHIMS WATQUIN		JOHN MITCHEL
RICHARD BARROW COTTELGE		(X) Cruz de DAVID WISMA
GEORGE WEEKELY		(X) Cruz de MICHEL ADE
WILLIAM CAIN		JESSE BRIANT
JN <sup>O</sup> . LINDER		GEORGE PHILLIPS
		WILLIAM STRINGER
CORNELUS DUNN		BENJAMIN HOOVER
		SKIPETH DURLIN
(X) Cruz de JOSEPH FLETCHER		SAMUEL COPLEN
(X) Cruz de WILLAM VISIS		JAMES FAIR
FRANCIS STRINGER		(X) Cruz de CHIM FEA
		JOS. THOMPSON
Cruz (X) MOSI STIDOM		(X) Cruz de JION EVEN
		JAMES COPLEN
		(X) Cruz ADAM OLENCHER
JOHN RANDON	JEREMIAH PHILIPS	
		(X) Cruz de SAMUYEL GRIFIN

#### PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS TO CARONDELET

[1792]<sup>30</sup>

Tribute of the people of Illinois, addressed to his Lordship, the Baron de Carondelet, governor general of the province of Louisiana.

Our hearts seem to be glowing with a celestial fire. Everywhere the same enthusiasm is seen spreading, and the oracle of God seems to announce here that all the virtues together have descended from the heavens to console the mortals. The oracle speaks, and he says: May the immortal era of the Titus whom the Lord of the earth has sent to your colony be forever marked in the minds of all living persons by actions which shall be memorable and glorious unto the last generation.

Fortunate omen of the happiness which is our fate, sweet and

<sup>30</sup> BL, (French).

celestial influence which is wafted to us, mayst thou be favorable to us and take care of these tutelary gods of agriculture and commerce which know the calamity which surrounds us, so that they may methodically demonstrate today to the benefactor of the colony, the evils with which we are afflicted.

Already we see this tutelary father casting his beneficent glance upon us and strangling with his hands the devouring hydra of oppression which feeds on the blood of mortals. It is he who by a change worthy of his virtues, substitutes industry for indigence, activity for indolence, humanity for indifference, wisdom for intemperance, and especially impartiality for favoritism. It is he, finally, who, knowing the feelings which a happy people bear towards their monarch, wishes to protect from the scourge of poverty and affliction those whom oppression has plunged into bitterness, and to console them with a hope of future prosperity. Then, animated by the same feeling we shall be as one person to our Fatherland.

Let us hasten to show our gratitude by the praises which his virtues deserve. May our sighs of happiness not be directed towards heaven without being heard by the Eternal One who shall shower profusely his divine blessings upon everything which interests him.

May we forever keep alive on the altar of Vesta the sacred incense which he deserves for the care he has taken to suppress public calamities in a country where subjects always faithful to their prince and to his laws have long been forgotten.

But may he in turn be forever both our chief and our father, and may he repulse these cowardly and perverse men who often give false appearances to private interests which always lead the majority to oppression, and then may our beneficent monarch read our hearts, learn the desires and wishes which we express, and give us a proof of his graciousness and goodness by allowing the one whose praises we have sung to watch over us forever. That will cause us to have a double load of gratitude which we must and want to repay by the respect and unalterable obedience which we shall eternally owe, and for your kindness we take the liberty of subscribing ourselves most respectfully, My Lord, the most submissive, most obligated, and most grateful inhabitants of the Illinois.

CH<sup>LES</sup> SANGUINET (Rubric), JAQUES CLAMORGAN (Rubric), [torn] TAYON, MARIE MARIE,  *fils*, LIBERGE, X Mark of CHARLE LEFEVRE, DE LORIER (Rubric), JOS. BRAZEAU, X Mark of NICOLAS EBER DE LE COMPTE, TISON, CERRÉ (Rubric), YOSTI (Rubric), JH. ROBIDOUX (Rubric), BENITO VASQUEZ (Rubric), JOSEPH LA BROUSSE, DODIÉ, BOCQUET, BARENE, HEBERT,  *dit* LE COMT (Rubric), JOSEPH BAUDOIN, JOSEPH CHAL, X Mark of CHARLE DELISLE, X Mark of PHILIPPE FAINE, JOSEPH LABADY (Rubric), JPH. MOTARD (Rubric), LAURENT DUROCHER,

DE PERIT (Rubric), X Mark of JOSEPH EBERT, J<sup>H</sup>. HORTIZ (Rubric), X Mark of PIERRE ROY, LOUIS BONPARC, JOS<sup>H</sup>. TRUTEAU (Rubric), MONTARDY, F. MORIN (Rubric), EUGENIO ALVAREZ (Rubric), X Mark of JOSEPH TAYON, LUC MARLY, X Mark of LOUIS DELISLE, X Mark of LOUIS CHAURETTE PIERRE QUENEL, X Mark of FILETO BEAUJENOUX, X Mark of JOSEPH VERDON, GABRIEL LA CHANSE, X Mark of GABRIEL BAQUET, FRANCOIS VALLOIS (Rubric), CHARLES TAYON (Rubric), ROQUE (Rubric), J. DUBREUIL (Rubric), BENJAMIN LEROUX, J. B<sup>TE</sup>. DUFAU X his mark, S<sup>RE</sup>. LABBADIE (Rubric), P<sup>RE</sup>. SARPY (Rubric)

#### NEW ANDALUSIA AN ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIZATION PROJECT<sup>51</sup>

##### A ROYAL INVITATION TO THE INDUSTRIOUS

"His Majesty the King of Spain having been graciously pleased to "encourage emigration to his Province of Louisiana, he has in his "Royal Bounty determined to confer upon the emigrants, the following Rights, Privileges and Immunities.

"To all families consisting of two persons he will grant, gratis, "240 acres, French measure, equal to 300 acres, English.

"A family consisting of four persons will be entitled to 400 acres.

"A family consisting of ten persons will be entitled to 600 acres.

"A family consisting of fifteen persons will be entitled to 800 acres, "equal to 1000 English acres.

"No person shall be molested in religious matters. From the time "the emigrants may arrive in Louisiana they shall be treated and "enjoy the same commercial privileges and immunities as the ancient "inhabitants.

"A settlement being fixed, his Majesty will establish a garrison "to protect it against all insults. The officer commanding will decide "the controversies which may arise among the inhabitants, and all "differences in matters of interest not exceeding the value of *One Hundred Dollars*: From this sum upwards, the said commander "will hear the allegations of the parties, direct the proceeding, and "transmit the same to New Orleans for the decision of this government; unless the parties shall choose to submit their matters in controversy to arbitration, in which case each party shall choose one or "two arbitrators, and if they should not agree, the commander shall "name another to decide the matter.

"Every person emigrating into his majesty's province of Louisiana, "can bring with him his own property, such as flour, tobacco, hemp, "flax, cordage, salt, cattle, horses, sheep, swine, peltries, whiskey, with "all sorts of provisions, as well as utensils of husbandry, and articles "for building, free from duty, with liberty to send the same for sale

<sup>51</sup> BL, (Printed in English).

"to any post of the province, or to the ports permitted for commerce to the rest of the inhabitants.

"At their arrival in Louisiana, every head of a family, answering for every individual of it, shall take the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain, binding themselves to take up arms only in defense of the province of Louisiana against every enemy whatever that may attack it.

"It is his Majesty's intentions to establish within proper distances parish churches, to be served by priests that may speak the English language, but shall have no right to interfere with those who may not be Catholics, nor *shall any tythes or other pay be exacted from them.*

"*All subjects of his Majesty shall have a free market at New Orleans, for the produce of their Lands or Labor, and shall be exempt from all duties and taxes.*

"It is his Majesty's orders that his laws shall be administered with mildness and lenity, so as to render his subjects as happy as possible: For this purpose gentlemen who are well qualified, are, and will be appointed to govern the different settlements.

GILBERT LEONARDO, Secretary."

The benefits and advantages which must naturally accrue to every person that has foresight to embrace the offers here held out by the King of Spain are obvious and important; and those who incline to accompany Mr. Alexander Fowler, the ensuing fall, will have the additional advantage of the choice of situation, not only with respect to climate but soil, he having obtained a special and unlimited permission to explore the Spanish territory, from 31 to 41, on the Mississippi, and to fix himself, and such as may accompany him, on such part thereon, as may best suit his purpose.

This country comprehends a district of territory extending 1200 miles from north to south, on the Mississippi, which for pleasure, or profit, none can exceed, and but few equal; the soil being beyond description fertile and productive, and the climate salubrious and healthy. It is, indeed, a new land of Canaan, flowing with milk and honey, and may with propriety be called, the land of happiness and plenty, where every poor man must secure independence, and every independent man wealth.

Upper Louisiana, is beautifully diversified with hill and dale, with woods of immense stature, and meadows covered with beautiful herbage, where the Roebuck and the Buffaloe alternately fatten and sport.

But Mr. Fowler will not endeavor to embellish a country that needs none, nor bestow praise that may be deemed partial: He will therefore describe *Upper Louisiana* (the country where he intends to

establish a settlement) in the words of the ABBE RAYNAL, a writer whose philanthropy, and impartiality is universally known. This celebrated historian and philosopher, speaking of the extent, climate and fertility of Upper Louisiana, says.

"Before the nature of the soil had been tried it must have been imagined to be excellent. It abounds with wild fruits of a very agreeable flavor. It supplies a great many birds and wild beasts with copious subsistence. The meadows formed by nature alone, are covered with Roebucks and Buffaloe. Perhaps there are no trees upon the earth to be compared with those of Louisiana for height, variety and thickness. Since the soil has been tried, it has been found to excel in all kinds of culture.

"The sky is seldom clouded; the sun which gives life to everything, shining almost every day. In this happy climate, the women are blessed with an agreeable figure, and the men have fewer disorders in the vigor of life, and are less subject to infirmities in old age than the Europeans."

"Upper Louisiana (says a writer of equal authority) is of a superior soil to any other part of North America. It produces stately oak, hickory, ash, maple, cedar, mulberry trees, dying roots, and medicinal plants. On the western, or Spanish side of the Mississippi, fruitful meadows present themselves of many miles in circuit, watered by lakes, and shaded by groves of trees: Here the eye with rapture not only surveys the high lands bordering on the rivers Missouri and *Marameg*, but also those at a greater distance. This landscape is enchanting, and altogether *Elisian*."

It is on the river *Merameg*, that Mr. Fowler intends to fix an establishment for himself and friends. This river lies in latitude 38° 14', and from a three years residence in this country when a British officer he can verify the above quotations, and declare to the world, that the authors have neither exaggerated nor magnified.

Wheat, rye, and Indian corn, as well as every sort of small grain that is produced in Europe or the old colonies, thrives abundantly. On land unfallowed, and indifferently tilled, from 30 to 40 bushels of wheat per acre, is not uncommon. Tobacco of the first quality is raised on the *Marameg*. Hemp grows spontaneously and with little labour any quantity may be cultivated, and for the culture of which the king of Spain bequeaths a considerable premium. Flax is equally productive, and may be cultivated with equal advantage.

Apples, pears, peaches, and all other European fruit, succeed admirably. Excellent hops and wild grapes, are also the spontaneous produce of this country. Great quantities of sugar is produced from the maple tree, and as the mulberry trees are uncommonly large and numerous, they will no doubt, in time, become an object with the settlers.



Iron, copper, and lead mines, as also salt springs, have been discovered in different parts of this territory. The two latter are worked on the Spanish side of the Mississippi with advantage to their owners. There is a variety of fish in the rivers of a good quality and uncommon size.

Natural meadows are numerous and extensive, yielding excellent grass, and feeding immense herds of Buffaloe and Deer. Stock of all kind are almost innumerable. It is not uncommon for a Louisiana farmer to have from *two hundred to one thousand* head of black cattle.

Geese, ducks, teal, swans, pelicans, turkeys, pheasants, partridges, &c are in the greatest variety and abundance. In short, every thing that a reasonable mind can desire, is to be found on the Marameg, or with little pains may be produced.

But why quote so many authorities, or advance so many irrefragable truths, to establish the reputation of a country so well known. Mr. Fowler's views are neither interested or selfish. They bear a very different complexion from those of a modern adventurer. He apes no state: He usurps no authority: He scorns to betray friendship; and he is above preying on the credulous.

In *New Andalusia*, the royal bounty of a Spanish monarch, will neither be monopolized nor engrossed. Every emigrant that accompanies Mr. Fowler, will be entitled to equal privileges, and equal immunities. He holds out to the community facts; facts, that he hopes may prove a blessing to the needy and industrious, and a happy retreat to such of the independent and wealthy, as may prefer retirement and ease, to the cares and bustle of public life.

What blessings may not the emigrants to *New Andalusia* expect! Where justice is administered without fees: where religion is practiced from motives of benevolence; and where the soil is granted gratis, by a munificent monarch, whose greatest ambition is to see his people happy. "It is his majesty's orders that his laws shall be administered with mildness and lenity, so as to render his subjects as happy as possible." Like an eastern *Confusius*, "If I had a subject says he, who could produce two blades of corn instead of one, I would prefer him to all the political knaves of the empire." The enlightened Charles the IVth knows, that the wealth of all kingdoms arises from the cultivation of lands, and the dignity of all monarchs from the countenance and security they afford the cultivators of it: He knows, that the tree must be watered at the root; that his cities will only flourish, as his fields become fruitful; and that the husbandman is entitled to the peculiar attention of government, not only for the labor he is exposed to, but for the national advantages he secures, for which reason, we see with what *paternal care* a Spanish monarch removes the humiliating burthen of taxation from the shoulders of

*every Louisiana farmer*, thereby securing to him the fruits of his labor: for without a man is allowed to enjoy what he raises and what he reaps he is incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, and must in the extremities of old age, not only become a burthen to himself, but a dependent on the community.

The king of Spain seems studious, that his industrious subjects should avoid so forlorn a condition; for he not only bestows on the tiller of the soil, the most distinguished marks of his royal beneficence, but favors the multiplication of his produce, by the most free and unbounded circulation. "My subjects shall have a free market at "New Orleans, for the produce of their land and labor, and shall "be exempt from all duty and taxes." An indefinite liberty is here given in the exchange of commodities, which connects the farmer and merchant. He extends the views of the one towards trade, and the others towards cultivation: He connects them by ties that are reciprocal, and which cannot fail of producing alternate benefits. Such a circulation of commodities brings on, in reality, the golden age, in which streams of milk and honey are said to have flown through the plains. Under such a monarch the industrious are not only encouraged, but endowed with a power of accomplishing every thing they wish, but they are besides nobly stimulated with a desire of accomplishing every thing that is possible.

No Taxes! No Excise! What encouragement to the industrious and needy! The king of Spain *gives everything* and *demands nothing*, but ALLEGIANCE, for which he grants PROTECTION, a reciprocal tie between the governor and the governed.

"A settlement being fixed his majesty will establish a garrison to "protect it against all insults."

In a word, a Royal Invitation is here given, to men of all countries, descriptions and denominations to cultivate the rich forests of *New Andalusia*, so that by their industry they may become independent, wealthy, and happy.

Such as are desirous of securing to themselves and families these golden advantages, by becoming adventurers to *New Andalusia*, and accompanying Mr. Alexander Fowler, the ensuing fall, will apply, or transmit their names to him at Pittsburgh, where they may have an opportunity of more full and satisfactory information.

## CARONDELET TO TRUDEAU

*June 8, 1792*<sup>32</sup>

I am informed that eight leagues below that post, and consequently at a distance of twelve from Ste. Geneviève, on the Maramec River a company of Americans is to be established under their own authority, without the consent of the government.

This settlement is objectionable under the circumstances on account of the steps which it seems the Americans are taking to possess themselves of lands which do not in any manner belong to them. Consequently it is of absolute necessity to prevent its formation. To accomplish this, if upon receipt of this letter any American shall have established himself there, you will inform him of my order that he must retire from the dominions of the King, for it is very urgent that this idea shall be discouraged from the beginning.

If, despite this order, Americans join in that settlement in any number, you will take pains to incite the Indians to annoy them and put them out, causing those tribes to unite in sufficiently large bands to compel the Americans to cross the river; but you will try in every possible way to prevent any further expense to the royal treasury unless it be for some small present. Should the Americans gather in such force as to cause a well-founded fear that they may get a foothold, then, in this extreme case, after you have taken all the steps that policy and politeness require, if they do not withdraw, you will proceed to compel it formally and openly, making use of the militia. In any event you will not permit them, nor give them any opportunity to settle in those places, still less to cover it with a fort or any other building.

It may be that this settlement is only promoted by Don Alexander Fowler, formerly lieutenant in the service of His Britannic Majesty, and now established at Fort Pitt. In case the said Fowler should present himself with this intention, you will tell him by my order that, since the time when my predecessor gave him the permission mentioned in his proclamation, circumstances have changed; and that consequently no other foreigners will be admitted on the side of our establishments from Point Coupée up to Ilinoia than Germans, French, and Hollanders; but that nevertheless, in consideration of his known probity and excellent conduct, I have determined to permit him to establish himself with those whom he may wish to take with him,—that is, French, German, or Hollanders, but no Americans. You will also tell him that, if any of the last-named had decided to come with him, they may establish themselves on the Amite River, where Mr. Wooster is to form a settlement. For this purpose

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<sup>32</sup> BL.

they will be conducted to that place at the expense of the royal treasury, but in the future none of them will be admitted, and they will have no right to complain after being frankly and openly warned.

The reason for this is that I wish as far as possible to avoid disturbances, and to preserve the greatest peace possible by avoiding complaints on the part of the United States, which have made representations to my government that we encourage the emigration of their citizens to this province. This order you will communicate to the temporary commandant of Ste. Geneviève seeing to it that it is carried out; and you will also have an understanding with Captain Tomás Portell, commandant of New Madrid, so that by working in harmony this measure may have the proper effect.

God etc.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 8, 1792.*

[Draft by BARON DE CARONDELET]

SEÑOR DON ZENON TRUDEAU.

ROBERTSON TO PORTELL

*June 10, 1792*<sup>33</sup>

Nº. "7"

Territory of the United States Miro  
District Davidson County, *June 10th, 1792*

SIR

I had the honor of receiving yours of the 7<sup>th</sup>. Ult<sup>o</sup>. and beg leave to return you my most gratefull acknowledgments for your polite attention to my former letter and the peace and harmony which every good Man would wish to see subsist between the people of our two Nations: Be assured Sir it is what I ardently wish and on my part shall omit nothing, that will in any wise promote it.—

I am very sensible Sir of the propriety of your remark that you cannot be answerable for the Conduct of a lawless Banditi of Savages; nor indeed can any one, but it is a misfortune we must submit to.—

Measures have been taken here for a Treaty of peace and friendship between the United States and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations which is expected to take place in July next, at which time I shall not fail to have the Idea of the friendly intercourse between His Catholic Majesty's subjects & the Citizens of the United States impressed on the minds of the indians.—

At present I have no prospect of going to your Country, but should anything in future lead me that way I shall do myself the honor to call on you; and should you ever have occasion to visit our Country

<sup>33</sup> BL, (English).

I hope you will do me the honor to make my house your home during your stay.—

Our frontiers are still infested by parties of Indians from whom I was so unfortunate as to receive two wounds on the 24<sup>th</sup>. Ult<sup>o</sup>.—My left arm is very much shattered and a slight wound in the right.—We suppose they were Creeks.—

A report has circulated here that your Government has been apprehensive of an invasion from our western Countries, but I have the satisfaction to assure you that nothing can be more groundless; such a measure would I think most certainly be disapproved of by the United States.—Mr. fagot the bearer of this Letter will be able to give you full Satisfaction with regard to this matter

I am Sir with sentiments of Esteem.

Your Most Obede<sup>t</sup>. & Very Hum Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JAMES ROBERTSON  
Brig<sup>r</sup>. G. Milit.

MONS<sup>r</sup>. THOMAS PORTELL

[Addressed:]

N<sup>o</sup>. "7"

MR. THOMAS PORTELL *Commandant of the Post New Madrid*  
FR. MR. FAGOT

#### INHABITANTS OF PASCAGOULA TO CARONDELET

*June 15, 1792<sup>34</sup>*

GOVERNOR AND INTENDANT GENERAL: Joseph Krebs, resident of Pascagoulas, in the name of all the inhabitants from that river to the Bay Saint Louis: . With all due respect to Your Lordship, they state and say that the continued presence of the Indian nations along this coast in their journeys to and from that capital results in considerable damage to them, not only in the crops which they raise for the maintenance of themselves and their poor families, but also in the cattle belonging to them which the Indians kill and wound; for it happens that when there are a number of head of cattle together at the time when they try to kill one to eat, they do not take the slightest precaution to select just one, but injure others with the shots of the guns they use. Consequently the loss is much greater for this reason.

In view of the above fact, the inhabitants humbly beg Your Lordship to take under consideration the dire situation in which they find themselves on account of the large number of their families and the slight recourse they have for their support by raising the animals, and provide the best measures, in accordance with your usual justice. They beg you to keep them from experiencing in the future the injuries

<sup>34</sup> BL.

named above, a favor which they hope to receive from Your Lordship's good judgment.

PASCAGOULAS, *June 15, 1792.*

JOSEPH KREBS

JEAN BAPTISTE DUPONT

(x) Mark of VENYA COPPE

FRANCOIS KREBS

BATISTE FAVRE

CABIERRE VIN

CHARLES ELLIER (Rubric)

(x) Mark of NICOLA CRETIANNE

AUGUSTIN KREBS

(x) Mark of FRANCOIS COLIN

BARTHELEMY GRELOT

A. B. CARRIER

(x) Mark of JONNETTE

*(Accompanying the foregoing)*

SEÑOR GOVERNOR: It is true that the inhabitants of Pascagoula suffer all the injuries and damage from the Indians which they report in this petition presented to Your Lordship. Upon leaving that town for their villages, the Indians are given three days' provision for the journey which they often use up before they set out on the march. Then, since the route to most of their villages is by way of the Pascagoula River they encounter the cattle there and kill them, as has been reported. This damage cannot be remedied except by depriving the Indians of the use of this route and by presenting them with gifts here or in Pensacola instead of at that capital. Only by these means can the inhabitants be assured that the Indians will not pass. Your Lordship will take such measures as may seem best to you.

MOBILE, *August 1, 1792.*

MANUEL DE LANZOS (Rubric)

MONTGOMERY TO PORTELL

*June 15, 1792*<sup>35</sup>

No. 8.

Clarks Veele Tenesee County and Destrict of Mero

SIR: This will be Handed you By Mr Fargo and I must Teake the Liberty to inform you Consarning a Letter Rote To you from som of The inhabetents of this Cuntry which Docter Watter's was the Berer Dated som Time in the Month of February and as I have Been Since informed that My name was put To the Letter as one of the Subscribers which Geves me Much oneasiness as I do asure you I was note in the Cuntry at the Time and there fore Make use This Oppertunity of Exculpetting my Self From Having Eaney hand in That Letter which the Beerer of this Mr Fargo Can a sart as a

<sup>35</sup> BL, (English).

fact and as for perticelers Consarning of it and The Nues of this Cuntry I Refar you To that Gentleman as a man of infermation and Charecter and Beleve me Sir To be with Every sentiment of asteem

your Most Abediand and Very Humble serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN MONTGOMERY

*June <sup>th</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1792.*

[Addressed:]

To Mr. D<sup>n</sup>. THOMAS PORTELL.  
Commanding Officer for his most  
Catholic Majesty: of the post of  
New Madrid.  
NEW-MADRID.

PORTELL TO CARONDELET

*June 28, 1792* <sup>36</sup>

List showing the documents sent to the governor, indicated by their numbers.

- No. 1. A letter written in Cumberland on December 5, 1791, by Dr. Richard Waters.
  - No. 2. Another ditto written in the same post and district to Miró, signed by Evan Shelby, R. Nelson, Val Sevier, John Montgomery, and Jorge Bell.
  - No. 3. A declaration signed by Dr. Richard Waters.
  - No. 4. A letter from General Robertson written at Nashville in the district of Miró on February 13, 1792.
  - No. 5. Another letter from Don Andrés Fagó written at the same post and on the same day and year as the preceding.
  - No. 6. Copy of the answer to the letter from General Robertson, dated at New Madrid, May 6, 1792.
  - No. 7. Original letter from General Robertson in reply to the preceding copy written in the district of Miró, date June 10, 1792.
  - No. 8. Another letter from John Montgomery written on June 15, of the same year already cited of '92.
- NEW MADRID, *June 28, 1792.*

TOMÁS PORTELL (Rubric)

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<sup>36</sup> BL.

## CARONDELET TO DELINO

*June 29, 1792*<sup>37</sup>*Answered*NEW ORLEANS, *June 29, 1792.*

MY DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of the 4th of the present month I must warn you that whenever the hunters and traders resolve to establish the fort projected by Captain Don José Valliere in a site which more fully answers the main object of its establishment than that called *Les Gallais*, I shall, without any objection, conform to their wishes. The object of the aforesaid fort must be only to minimize the incursions of the Osage and to protect the hunters and traders from them. Therefore, whenever you assure me that this advantage may be accomplished in any other situation, I shall be willing to approve it without any objection.

I have already proposed this new establishment to the government and, as soon as I have its approval and requisite information from you, I shall take the necessary steps. Meanwhile, it is advisable to press upon the Osage at all points. I have sent orders to the Ilinuises to furnish arms and ammunition in order to arm all nations possible against the Osage. If there can be assembled a sufficient body of men, including hunters, militiamen, and savages, to surround the place of the Osage and finish with them once and for all, it shall be carried out with all possible haste.

It will be necessary for you to arm the Arkansas, the Caddo, and as many as you can, adding to them the hunters and traders to the end of destroying those who might escape from the expeditions noted above. With this idea in mind, I have given thirty guns to the Arkansas with three pounds of gunpowder for each one, and they have left well-disposed to join with the Caddo upon their arrival and fall upon the Osage.

Endeavor to make more difficult the introduction and passage of the Americans through that district.

In the meantime I beg Our Lord to preserve your life many years. Your most attentive servant kisses your hand.

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

Señor DON YGNACIO DELINO

## FAVRE TO [CARONDELET]

*June 29, 1792*<sup>38</sup>AT THE CHOCTAWS, *29th of June, 1792.*

Copy.

MY LORD: Allow me to take the liberty of having the honor of writing you this letter to send you the enclosed copies which were

<sup>37</sup> BL.<sup>38</sup> BL, (French).



brought to the Choctaw nation by two Americans the 25th of this month. They went back the same day. These messages were translated by a trader for that nation named Jean Pichline. This is one of several similar activities of this man, who does nothing but give bad advice to the savages. That is why I hope, my Lord, that you will be so kind as to give me your orders about this matter.

They brought two large medals, and two complete suits. They have given one to Franchimastabé, and the other to a respected chief of this nation called Tloupouye Nantlá, but all this was of no use. They have been unable to take either of them along with them.

There is nothing else of enough importance to inform you. My Lord, begging you to excuse me for the liberty which I dare to take, I have the honor of being, with respect and submission, my Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

SIMON FAVRE

TREATY BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE CREEK NATION

*July 6, 1792*<sup>39</sup>

Copy.

Don Francisco Baron de Carondelet, colonel of the royal forces, governor and intendant general of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, and Alexander McGillivray, general and principal chief of the Creek nation, desire to confirm by all possible means the firm principles of peace, friendship, and reciprocal union, which happily exist between the Spanish nation and the Creek Indians and their allies, and to remove once and for all any obstacle that might embarrass the definite and complete compliance with the treaty celebrated by both nations at Pensacola in 1784. They take likewise into consideration that the treaty made with the United States in 1790 has brought about innumerable disturbances and discontent among the different chiefs of the nation, the greater part of which are decided to disapprove and reject the aforementioned treaty with the United States. Until such time as his Majesty shall consider it advisable to make a resolution relative to the extension of the royal guarantee and protection to all the lands of the Creek nation or Talapoosa, we have agreed upon the following articles which ought to be considered as an explanation of our first treaty of 1784, which in all else must remain in full force.

Article 1.

His Catholic Majesty, desiring to preserve a perpetual peace and good harmony between the United States and all his allied Indian

<sup>39</sup> BL.

nations, orders the chiefs and warriors of the Talapoosa nation to avoid the commission of any violence or hostility against the Americans settled on their lands under the pretext of the treaty of 1790, or any other. But he recommends that the Talapoosas shall expel promptly from the lands of their nation any intruders who have gone beyond the concession previously made to the British nation, together with their belongings, within two months.

Article II.

His Catholic Majesty will guarantee all the lands belonging to the Creek nation, and of which it was in possession at the time of the treaty of Pensacola, made and concluded in 1784; and under the same principles of union and reciprocal friendship the Talapoosa nation will guarantee to his Catholic Majesty, all the lands of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida.

Article III.

His Catholic Majesty, in order to manifest his good disposition towards the Creek nation, will fully and sufficiently furnish its Indians and allies with arms and ammunition, not only to defend their territories but also to recover the usurped lands, in the event that the Americans shall refuse to retire voluntarily and peacefully within the fixed time, or in case the Creek nation finds itself attacked unjustly by any other, without having provoked the war.

In testimony thereof, and in order that all herein determined shall be made manifest, we have signed and sealed the present document in the city of New Orleans on the sixth day of July of the year of our Lord 1792.

(Place of Seal)

EL BARON DE CARONDELET,  
ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY,  
ANDRÉS ARMESTRO, *Secretary*.

CARONDELET TO DE BLANC

*July 11, 1792*<sup>40</sup>

Having received from the court the most precise orders as to the treatment which the inhabitants must give to their Negroes so that they may get a suitable usefulness out of them without infringing with impunity the laws of humanity, I enjoin the inhabitants to observe the following articles, under penalty of a fine of a hundred piastres for whomsoever shall infringe them, as well as the sale of the negro who shall have been unjustly maltreated or used beyond measure.

1. Each Negro shall receive, as a minimum, the barrel of corn customary in the colony, for his nourishment.

<sup>40</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 18 (French).

2. Sundays will be given to him for his free rest or for his private work, except in extraordinary cases for which he shall be paid, or compensated for at another time.

3. On work days they shall begin work at daybreak at the earliest, and they shall end at nightfall at the latest.

4. They shall have a half-hour's rest for lunch, and two hours for dinner.

5. They shall be given a shirt and trousers of cloth for the summer time; a blanket cape, a large pair of woolen trousers, and one shirt for the winter, and two ordinary handkerchiefs.

6. No master shall have the power to have more than thirty blows of the whip dealt to his slave; should he deserve more, he shall leave at least one day's interval between one punishment and the other. The majordomo who shall exceed the limit in this respect shall be punished with two month's imprisonment, without his being able to offer any excuse.

In order that this regulation may be brought to the attention of all the inhabitants, without which the slaves would not be able to avail themselves of it through failure of having heard it, an authentic copy of it shall be remitted to each commandant and syndic, who shall read it especially to the inhabitants, whose general and particular safety is involved in the exact observation of these regulations to a much greater extent than they imagine; they shall be allowed to make a copy of it for their own enlightenment.

At NEW ORLEANS, *July 11, 1792*.

LE BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

MR. DEBLANC

DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*July 12, 1792*<sup>41</sup>

Enclosed you will find two letters turned over to me by Mr. Coirin, surgeon of this post, and written by Father Bernard de Deva who is now on bad terms with the Sieurs Fernández. I thought that Your Lordship would not be displeased to see that this good father, although absent, was the soul of all the disturbances here, and that through secret agents he influenced the minds of the people, inducing them above all to go to the city, as Your Lordship will see. This is one of the reasons for the frequent trips to that place, and it helps to prolong other means, which he causes to be employed by those whom he advises, so that he may meanwhile use at his ease all the resources of chicanery. You will also see in them that he is intriguing in the city itself and is informed of what is going on among the judges.

<sup>41</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (French).

If it were possible for Your Lordship to become better acquainted with this turbulent and devious personage, you would find in the letter of the 26th of June a proof of what most of the people of this post think. They believe that the principal purpose of this affair, in view of the breaking-up of the agreements, is to expose to Your Lordship's displeasure the commandant of New Iberia, who is, as well as myself and several other inhabitants of this place, the secret goal of all the measures of the father and his cabal. We might have been their victims had we not found in you a governor whose integrity is incapable of being deceived by bad people. I shall perhaps be able to give convincing proofs of what I am advancing to Your Lordship, and, as their party is getting weaker daily, some members of it will be ashamed to see themselves swept along by a bad current. Others will be irritated at being the victims of their own intrigues, and they will give up their letters to me and will themselves discover the cabal in which they have taken part, just as the aforesaid Coirin has done.

As for his affair, I dare to state to Your Lordship that, through the deviousness and entanglements of the Sieurs Fernández as well as through the thousand other minor motives too unimportant for me to give you in detail here, I believe it, although I have no evident proof, to be a total piece of dishonesty on their part.

As for the apparent suit alleged by the Father Bernard, it is nothing but a ruse through which he is trying to avoid a more important suit. In it a great many more people would have been involved if the inventory I made of the presbytery, as I reported to Your Lordship at the time, had not up to date prevented this fine project, which may bloom soon.

ATAKAPAS *July 12, 1792.*

God have you in His holy keeping.

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

M. LE BARON DE CARONDELET, Governor General.

TARDIVEAU TO [CARONDELET]

*July 17, 1792*<sup>42</sup>

KASKASKIA, *July 17, 1792.*

SIR: I had the honor of seeing Mr. Trudeau when he passed through Ste. Geneviève, and he was kind enough to tell me about the flattering reception which my remarks had received from you. The news which he announced to the inhabitants, concerning the favoring by the government of the flour products of this part of the colony, has caused here a most auspicious reaction. It was with a great deal of pleasure that I heard them accept warmly this offer, and say that

<sup>42</sup> BL, (French).

they were going to devote themselves entirely to the growing of wheat. I am thinking of helping them in this matter by making the arrangements necessary to construct a commercial mill. I hope to be able to do this during the course of next summer.

The commandant of St. Louis, with whom I have had several private conversations, assured me, Sir, that I could take the liberty of writing to you to inform you directly of the great projects that I discussed with him, and I flatter myself that their importance will justify this step sufficiently.

I doubtless do not need to stress Spain's major interest in settling a large population on the western part of the Mississippi River. Such an action has at all times been desirable, in order to increase as much as possible the people, the products, and the benefits; but in the last few years the necessity for this has become much more imperious. It is no longer merely a question of exploiting a vast uncultivated land; it has now become urgent to place an obstacle to the rapid westward progress of the Americans, and to raise a barrier between this enterprising people and the Spanish possessions, especially Missouri and New Mexico, those two great objects of a cupidity which takes pleasure in rushing into the future and in enjoying beforehand its illusions. But where are we to get this number of men necessary to cover such vast frontiers and who might remain inviolably attached to Spain, through principle as well as through interest? Shall it be in the United States? Beyond a doubt we would find there a great quantity of families who would seize this offer with joy; and it might be possible and even useful, later on, to welcome a few of them because of their inventive genius and their aptitude in the arts. But they will always have to be in an infinitely smaller proportion to the rest of the settlers.

I learned to know them well, thanks to having lived fifteen years among them. Isolated among strangers and especially separated from one another, they are as docile and as submissive to authority as those who boast less of their independence. As soon as they are in a group, however small, they become dangerous; soon they want to run things. Prudence, therefore, forbids the idea of peopling Louisiana with immigrants from that nation. The events now taking place in France and the Netherlands probably offer to Spain the most favorable and desirable opportunity to attract to the Mississippi and the Missouri a multitude of men so that the colony will form from its inception a respectable and impenetrable barrier against ambitious neighbors. I do not, Sir, base these hopes upon a mere conjectural theory as to the political affairs of Europe. I have very positive facts wherewith to support my assertions, and I must inform you of them.

Sir, you are not ignorant of the fact that a great many individuals, respectable because of their rank and fortune, dissatisfied

with the state of affairs in France or alarmed for their personal safety at a time of unrest when excesses were being committed, bought great strips of land on the Ohio and took refuge there with several hundred families of artisans and cultivators whom they transported there at their own expense. I presume that you also know that, after wasting three years and eating up immense sums, those unfortunate people saw their establishments fall to pieces and the greater part of the settlers attached to their service become dispersed, because the war between the Americans and the Indians rendered the company that had sold those lands unable to let the purchasers take possession of them.

Reduced to inhabiting a narrow strip of land on the banks of the Ohio River and unable to go beyond it in order to extend their cultivated area, always on the look-out and in danger of being attacked by the Indians, finally, disgusted with the innumerable vexations and swindles of which they had been victims from the time they arrived in America, the French immigrants have turned their glance forward to the Mississippi, and have eagerly seized the idea that was suggested to them to go and settle on the river of the Illinois. The location where it is planned to place them starts at the mouth of the Missouri and extends about twelve or fifteen leagues up the Mississippi. This project depends upon circumstances which will probably delay its fulfillment for some time yet.

However this may be, one of my friends, in the name and by order of the French group, has written to me to find out whether I am disposed to take an interest in this enterprise, and take charge of the immigrants' fate. This includes providing them the means of transportation, provisions, animals, etc., etc., while they would furnish the necessary funds; and having the lands surveyed and distributed to the families as they come in. They are asking for precise information about the location, the quality of the soil, and the kind of production for which it is suitable. Above all, they desire to make an acquisition considerable enough to form, with the number of Frenchmen whom they will transport there, and without admitting a single American, one of the confederate states, which, according to the laws of the United States, would require a population of sixty thousand.

They state that a very large number of seigneurs and other rich people, who, through attachment to the old government or to the exiled princes, have left France and fear or disdain to go back there, have decided to cross to America with their whole fortune and great numbers of men connected to them through various relationships and bonds. All that is being awaited is the information to be given by the Marquis de Marnésia, one of the principal purchasers at Scioto. In that state of affairs, Sir, I replied to the overtures made to me

more or less in the spirit of this letter and promised to be at Philadelphia with M. de Marnésia and other interested parties towards the beginning of next winter, to discuss the ways and means of executing such an extensive scheme of immigration.

When I received the letter in which they do me the honor of consulting me about their project, I had been concerned about them for more than a year. I had foreseen all the disasters which happened to them and I had been planning, as soon as my affairs would have permitted it, to make a trip to Scioto, with the intention of inducing them to transport their settlement to the Spanish side of the Mississippi. I had even communicated my project to the commandant of Sainte Geneviève. I showed to Mr. Trudeau the letter which the company had sent to me, in order that he might inform you of it, Sir, and inspire your confidence in what I have the honor of stating to you.

Through this brief account you may easily, I am sure, be persuaded that it is practicable to transport from Europe to the Mississippi and the Missouri a very large number of Frenchmen who cannot become reconciled to changes caused by the revolution, and a multitude of others from other classes whom it has deprived of their means of subsistence. This immigration, however considerable, will in no wise be a charge on the Spanish government, because those who will direct, manage, and support it will all be men enjoying more or less important fortunes, who will transport and maintain at their expense people of a less wealthy class whom they will involve in their own fate, and with whom they will make mutually advantageous agreements. One of the main conditions will be to assure to each individual a certain amount of land after a fixed period of service. It will be necessary to have these various amounts of land originally granted to the proprietors in proportion to the numbers of their people, but only as a trust to be freely given to those who will have served them during the time of their engagement.

I come now, Sir, to what I have to propose to you for the execution of this plan. If you approve, I shall go by New Orleans to Philadelphia, where, after conferring with the principal Frenchmen there, I shall embark for France. I shall see there all those who may have the intention of joining us. From there I shall go to Savoy, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Flanders, in short to all places where there are gathered Frenchmen capable, because of their rank, their wealth, their credit or their influence, of strengthening greatly our enterprise. Besides the letters of recommendation which I shall bear from our friends at Philadelphia, I shall find in France all the support necessary to reach the most important people. But I am unable to be explicit here, for fear of compromising, in case of accident, persons

whom I cherish as much as I respect. I shall furnish you, Sir, with sufficient proofs of how far I can rely on them.

I shall ask for the expenses of this journey of eighteen months beginning with my departure from New Orleans—four thousand piastres to be paid to me as follows: before my departure from New Orleans, six hundred piastres; fourteen hundred at my arrival in France; and if in six months I am not in a position to present to the ambassador or other agent of the Court of Spain who may be at Paris at the time, well-founded hopes of succeeding in my mission, nothing more is to be paid to me. If, on the contrary, I prove to the aforesaid ambassador's satisfaction the probabilities of success, I am to receive the remaining two thousand piastres in two installments six months apart. After eighteen months, should the affair succeed in accord with our desires, and if it is deemed useful for me to remain longer in Europe, the government will accord me the salary which it shall judge is owed in view of my previous services, of those it expects of me, and of the decent station that I shall have to maintain among the class of men with whom my relations will be established.

At the conclusion of my mission, I shall also, Sir, abandon myself entirely to the well-known generosity of your government, with regard to the permanent lot which its dignity will prompt it to assign to me. I do not have to learn that it is always profitable to be useful to it. I shall undertake to come back to America with the first colony of immigrants, to accompany them to the establishment, to help them with my advice and experience, and to secure from the Ohio River all the necessary means of subsistence until the settlers shall be in a position to do without outside help.

In order, Sir, to convince you fully of the certainty of my belief in a great success, rather than to boast of my services—a contemptible manoeuvre of which I should be ashamed—I make bold to tell you that I am making very great sacrifices for the sake of this undertaking, for my departure from the United States will cause me to lose irrevocably a property worth over ten thousand piastres. However, I do not ask thanks for this renunciation of my private interests; still less do I expect to be compensated for it. All that I may be entitled to hope for is that I shall be recompensed for my future services. Nothing is owed to me, and I ask nothing for the losses to which I am voluntarily submitting. Doubtless, I expect some compensation, but this is not in the shape of pecuniary advantages. I picture to myself with bitterness the state of an infinite number of unfortunate people in my fatherland reduced to misery by present circumstances. I saw at a glance the immense advantages to be gained by Louisiana through the acquisition of such a great number of industrious people, and how fortunate it would be for them to find a home there. The thought of



contributing to these two great projects struck me so strongly as to seem sufficient compensation for the possessions I am giving up.

Personal interest is undoubtedly the universal mover of men, but it does not assume the same features with everybody. With some, it is the thirst for gold—and surely no one is more indifferent than myself to wealth. With others, it is the ambition for position, or the desire for fame; in this respect again I have no pretensions and no interest. With a very small number, finally, it is the necessity of taking part in projects mainly intended for the public good, and in which an active spirit might exert its power. Nature had placed me in this last group, but a rather singular combination of circumstances has upset its plans.

I love humanity, Sir, and I seize eagerly all the opportunities of procuring it greater happiness. That is what has made me conceive the project of transporting a large company to Louisiana, of converting its deserts into fertile fields, of introducing there the arts and industries and causing them to prosper with time. Those are the things which make me give up with a light heart the fruits of many years of hard work. I believed, Sir, that I owed this explanation to the purity of my principles and my motives, so that you would not think that I am seeking to draw the government into taking a step through expectations of personal gain rather than the public good. The smallness of the sum for which I asked is proof of my disinterestedness, for it is obvious that it will barely be sufficient for my expenses and gives me no compensation for the journey, in case I should be obliged to come back without having done anything.

While my zeal for the public good induces me to sacrifice almost all of my small fortune, I should yet desire, Sir, to save a minor part of it from the wreck; and what I have to request in this connection does not seem to be in violation of the administrative principles established by your government. I have exchanged some land for tobacco, which I should like to take with me if I go to Europe. From the moment that you will have approved my plan, I ought to be considered, Sir, as a Spanish subject, and I shall be one in effect. I may then be allowed to hope that my tobacco will enter and leave New Orleans without paying the duty exacted from this produce when it comes from abroad. Besides, Sir, in connection with this, I am not so indiscreet as to request a personal favor. If it is a right which the government grants to any man coming to settle under its protection, you will be so kind as to inform me of it, so that as a consequence, I may decide to bring it down with me: or else, in the contrary case, to dispose of it otherwise before my departure.

I should be quite sorry, Sir, if the scheme which I have just had the honor of expounding to you should cause me to lose sight of the establishment of a commercial mill. The impetus has been given;

your assent to my plan has stirred the minds of the people; we must not lose this precious spark, and allow them to fall back into lethargy and stupor. This would inevitably happen, if we left to their own devices men who are not very familiar with a kind of industry which presupposes a certain advance in mechanical ideas. The first remark which I heard, after the announcement made by Mr. Trudeau, was this: "This is a fine encouragement for agriculture. But who among us is in a position to build the necessary mills and shops? Who among us would know how to go about it even if he had the means?"

Yet it is men who have ten times as great means as I have who allow themselves to be stopped right at the start by the shadow of an obstacle. Being used to seeing this type of plant in Europe and especially among the Americans, where there is an infinite number of them carried to the highest degree of perfection, I am less prone to be afraid of them, and it is I who shall take it upon myself to show to the inhabitants of Illinois, during the course of next year, a mill built on the broadest principles. A happy chance has just brought here a man expert in that field, and I have assured myself of his services. The necessity of capital which I do not possess has forced me to secure a partner who will be here next spring. Therefore, Sir, the activity of this enterprise will not be reduced by my departure, should it take place.

The position of the French immigrants at Scioto, their impatience at getting out of it, and my promise to go to see them before winter, will force me to leave here about the 10th of November at the latest. If you, Sir, deem that my plan is worthy of some attention, please let me know before that time what you think of it, because that will influence my itinerary from here to Philadelphia. I do not imagine that your Court will be indifferent to the fact that two or three hundred thousand Frenchmen (for this number has been announced to me) are going to settle among the Americans, or become subjects of Spain in a colony which it is so interested in protecting.

I quite understand, Sir, that a project of this scope may induce you to feel that you ought to consult your Court before you assent to it; but I also must point out that, if that is a necessity, it is also a misfortune, and that the Frenchmen who are already in America, and their friends in Europe, are anxious to make an irrevocable decision. If they are given the time to buy land in the territory of the United States, they will be lost forever, and this loss will be irreplaceable. The greatest secrecy must be exercised in this operation until it is time to carry it out.

I have the honor of being with respect, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

B. TARDIVEAU (Rubric)

## PROCLAMATION CONCERNING INDIAN TRADE

*July 25, 1792*<sup>43</sup>

WE, ZENON TRUDEAU, CAPTAIN OF THE INFANTRY REGIMENT OF LOUISIANA, IN COMMAND OF THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS,

Inform all subjects of His Majesty within our jurisdiction and its dependencies that, by virtue of an order from Monsieur le Baron de Carondelet, governor general of the province, etc., the purpose of which is to abolish all obstacles which have heretofore prevented individuals from going to trade freely among the savage nations, it is now permitted to all subjects of His Majesty settled in the district of our command, without any distinction or restriction whatever, to engage in unlimited and unreserved commerce with such Indian nations (of this western district of Illinois) as they deem fit. The sole proviso is that twenty piasters must be paid for the license which will be delivered to them for the space and term of one year only, counting from the date of its delivery. At the end of the year those who may desire to continue their trade will renew their licenses.

In consequence whereof, these presents shall be read, made public and posted in all places of this district and its dependencies under our command so that none may be ignorant of them, and in order to inform all the subjects of His Majesty residing therein of the governor general's intention to favor and protect equally the business of each individual resident.

Done at SAINT LOUIS, *July 25, 1792*.

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

## CARONDELET TO BAJAMAR

*July 25, 1792*<sup>44</sup>

No. 6.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR.

*Confidential*

From the enclosed document, Your Excellency will note the opportunity which offers itself of attracting to the posts of Ilinueses, St. Louis, San Fernando, San Carlos, Ste. Geneviève, New Madrid, etc., a large part of the French settlers who, fleeing from the revolutions in their fatherland, have migrated to the United Provinces of America and have been disgusted by the bad faith and oppressions of the Americans.

In accord with the Señor Vicar General of these provinces we have, after the necessary examinations and investigations, permitted Don Juan Bautista Didier, former parish priest of the settlement of Galli-

<sup>43</sup> BL, (French).

<sup>44</sup> AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 86-5-22.

polis, and Don Pierre Gibault, former parish priest of the town of Cahokia, in the American part of Illinois, to exercise temporarily the functions of parish priests, the former at the new settlements of San Fernando and San Carlos. The inhabitants of these places, clamoring for a long time for priests to administer spiritual guidance to them, have erected the two churches of San Fernando and San Carlos at their own expense and have promised to support the priest, Don Juan Bautista Didier, until His Majesty is pleased to approve him and allot him a suitable stipend.

I cannot fail to call Your Excellency's attention, in this connection, to the abandon and lack of spiritual instruction in which these provinces find themselves. The pious heart of His Majesty would doubtless be moved to know that so many souls, so well-disposed and who yearn for pastors to guide them on the road to salvation, are being lost miserably through lack of ministers, the ignorance of the few there are, and the scandal with which the greater part, yes, the greater part, of those here have been living.

As I arrived to take over this governorship hardly six months ago, and have never indulged in any intimacies with the citizens, nor had any trouble or discord with the Most Reverend Capuchin Fathers, I can speak with the greater disinterestedness and freedom; and I shall do so, inspired solely by zeal for the glory of the Almighty, the best service of our Catholic and pious Monarch, the salvation of his vassals entrusted to my care, and the propagation of our Holy Faith.

The Capuchins, because of their extraordinary garb, their ignorance in general, and lack of knowledge of the ways of the world, are the least suitable pastors for these provinces, which are inhabited by many erudite men who have retired to them from the service of France before it passed under the dominion of Spain. There are many others who have fled from the disturbances agitating France, many English, Americans, etc., Protestants and Lutherans, and men of education who comport themselves with the greatest moderation, whom it would be easy to win over to our Holy Faith if we had priests who could mingle with them, talk their language and, by sweet persuasion, proper and exemplary conduct, complete avoidance of discord and partianship, gain their esteem and respect.

I regret to say so, but none of these characteristics is found in these fathers. True it is that such are their intrigues that some day these must reach to the throne and convince His Majesty, of whose piety they have taken advantage.

Of all the Capuchins who reside in this capital only Fathers Francisco, Luis, and the Vicar Fray Felix Portillo have comported themselves with the general concept of good conduct.

Father Vicar Fray Felix Portillo deserves great censure for the laxity he has shown in restraining the excesses and scandals of his

subordinates, the partisanship he displays in trying to excuse them, the intriguing spirit which makes him take part in the poorly quelled discords which from the time of my predecessor have plagued this colony, and the part he played in the errors into which various members of his order fell in Havana. He confessed his errors before his colleagues did, thereby avoiding the punishment imposed on the latter by the diocesan bishop.

It is quite evident to me that at the present time he is actively working with his partisans, the *Contador* Don José Orue, Don José Ortega, Don Hermenegildo Molina, etc. (all men imbued with his ideas, who have made themselves feared by their intrigues, animosities, and vengeance, and who for the peace of this capital should never have set foot in it), in order to drive out the Señor Vicar-General Don Tirso Henrique Henriquez, sent by the most illustrious Señor Bishop of Havana to make a secret investigation of the scandalous affair which took place during the time of my predecessor between the Auxiliary Bishop of Louisiana and Father Fray Antonio Sedella. The said Vicar General arrived here a few days after my own arrival. They lodged him in the house of one of their partisans and tried to gain his good will, but, finally realizing that he was a man incapable of letting himself be corrupted, they dropped their masks, tried to intimidate the witnesses he called to testify, and resorted to all expedients possible to have him removed from his mission and sent back to Havana. If it were not for their fear of my firmness and their conviction that I would immediately send to Havana any one who openly dared to renew the discords, these would again be raging in this city. Otherwise Father Portillo is an excellent preacher and an erudite man.

Father Francisco is a venerable old man of unblemished conduct, venerated by all and almost the only confessor of the French. The envy of his brothers has persecuted him and slowly carried him toward the grave.

Father Luis is an exemplary friar and quite well-esteemed but, because of his indiscreet zeal and his ignorance, is useless for propagating the religion in this country.

For proof of all that I say, I refer to what has been authentically established by the aforementioned Vicar General which will be reported to His Majesty by the Most Illustrious Señor Bishop of Havana, despite the fact that at first he was one of the greatest partisans, until what happened in Havana at the end of last year, '91.

Our sacred religion will reap the most abundant harvest in these provinces whenever His Majesty deigns to provide the parishes with secular clergymen, educated and learned in various languages, as are the parish priests of Natchez, Tombeché, etc., whose inhabitants, even the Protestants themselves, attend church to hear the divine word

and send their young children to catechism. Within a few years they will all be Catholics.

But in this capital, in what condition is divine worship? Its temple is nothing more than a guardhouse transformed into a church. It holds no more than a twentieth part of the faithful to hear the few Masses which are said. It is without proper adornment or shelter against the cold, an oven in hot weather, without confessors, it may be said, because there are only two who understand French at all, despite the fact that three-fourths of the city do not speak Spanish. There is no other preacher than Father Portillo, whom very few understand for the same reason. Few attend church, fewer approach the sacraments. The Capuchin Fathers cry out against heresy, while they themselves are the greatest obstacles our Holy Faith has in propagating itself.

May His Majesty be pleased to allot twenty thousand pesos from this royal treasury to complete and adorn the parish church, begun but badly constructed by a certain Don Andrés Almonaster, who from notary, has risen to be the colonel of militia through the intrigues of these same fathers and the great kindness of my predecessor. He is a man despised and hated by the militiamen, and under whose orders they do not wish to serve. This fact exposes me to a thousand perils so that I dare not call them up on various occasions.

May His Majesty be pleased to appoint secular clergymen to the parishes, as is done in the Kingdom of Guatemala, by virtue of royal order which banished all the friars from there for reasons much less weighty than those which militate against these provinces. May he select a preacher of the eloquence of Father Portillo, who will preach in the French language alternating with the Spanish preacher; that is, the sermon should be given on two Sundays, one in French and the other in Spanish, for a period of several years, etc. I claim that our religion then will be loved, respected, and generally followed in these provinces, and be the strongest support of the Spanish regime.

I hope that Your Excellency will please take everything into consideration and beg of His Majesty on behalf of the inhabitants of the settlement of New Madrid and new settlements of San Fernando and San Carlos in Ilinueses, the favor of giving the first named priest, Don Pierre Gibault, a stipend of two hundred and forty pesos, as is enjoyed by the parish priest of Ste. Geneviève; and those of San Fernando and San Carlos, Don Juan Bautista Didier, with the same stipend as the former.

May Our Lord preserve Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 25, 1792.*

Most Excellent Sir,

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor MARQUÉS DE BAJAMAR.

## LANZOS TO CARONDELET

*August 1, 1792*<sup>45</sup>

No. 148.

I am placing in the hands of Your Lordship the accompanying memorial from the inhabitants of Pascagoula. They consider it certain that, if the presents which the Indians now go to get at Orleans (which is their reason for passing along those roads) were given to them here or in Pensacola, the injuries from which the inhabitants suffer would cease. I replied to them that the government could do no less than give the presents to the Indians in the place which would be most favorable to the royal interests. This undoubtedly is that of Orleans, and I would petition Your Lordship to charge the interpreter Tornaret to tell the Indians, on behalf of Your Lordship, not to commit those offenses.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

MOBILE, *August 1, 1792.*

MANUEL DE LANZOS (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

## INDIAN COMMISSIONS ISSUED BY BLOUNT

*August 10, 1792*<sup>46</sup>

[Seal]

William Blount, governor in and over the Territory of the united states of america south of the river ohio, & superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern District:

To all who shall see these presents, greeting.

Know ye that in consideration of the proofs of fidelity & friendship which we have had of the Indian called Tussunacooboyè of the choctaw nation, maintaining close unity with the united states; of his valour and consequence with the neighbouring nations and of his good disposition & knowledge to command; desiring to recommend such good qualities, I do appoint him Gorget Captain admonishing him of the value he ought to put thereon, the obligation to govern his people well, and the respect he is to bear to the United States; venerating the name of the president.

For these reasons, we require all citizens of the united states to acknowledge him Gorget Captain as aforesaid; the same to the indians of his nation, that they respect and obey him.

Given under my hand and seal in the said Territory this tenth day of Augt—one thousand Seven Hundred & ninety two

W.M. BLOUNT

By the Governor DAN SMITH

<sup>45</sup> BL.

<sup>46</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 216 and leg. 124 (English).

[*Another*]

[Seal]

William Blount Governor in and over the Territory of the United States of America South of the river Ohio, and Superintendent of indians affairs for the Southern District

To all who shall see these presents Greeting.—

Know ye that in consideration of the proofs of fidelity and friendship which we have had of the indian called Tleepocnautla of the Choctaw Nation maintaining close union with the United States—of his valor and consequence with the neighboring nations and his good disposition and knowledge to command desiring to recommend such good qualities I do appoint him Chief and Grand Medal admonishing him of the value he ought to put thereon, the obligation to govern his people well, and the respect he is to bear to the people of the United States venerating the name of the president.—

For these reasons we admonish & require all citizens of the United States to acknowledge him Chief and Grand Medal as aforesaid, the same to the indians of his Nation that they respect and obey him.

Given under my hand & seal in the said Territory this tenth day of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety two.

WM. BLOUNT

By the Governor DAN SMITH

LANZOS TO CARONDELET

*August 12, 1792*<sup>47</sup>

On the 4th of the present month the commandant of San Estevan told me the following:

“A Choctaw Indian named Mascoque Mastabé, who recently came from the Chickasaws, has made a report to me. It seems very exact and without any selfish interest because on reaching the fort he asked me only for a little corn, salt, and bread for his children who were weeping from hunger. As he was wearing his hair cut in the style of the Chickasaws he made me suspect that he might come from that district. I accordingly asked him whether he had any news since he came from so far away. He answered that he was nothing but a chief of a party and thus wore only the gorget but he did not have a commission. He said that beyond the Chickasaws the Kickapoo Indians had killed ten Americans and that the Chickasaws who were friends of ours were very quiet and always spoke well; but a party of the same nation, friends of the Americans, were aiding the latter to establish a fort of palisades well-doubled

<sup>47</sup> BL. A Pinart transcript.



and with salient angles like this one. They did not have cannon but they had a sufficient number of small pieces of ordnance around the fort, which is almost finished. As they feared the Creeks, they worked with much haste. The said fort is situated at the same spot which the Chickasaws formerly held while they were making war on the French.

I asked him if it were very far from that place to the branch of this river which comes from that of the Chickasaws. He said a day's journey. Finally, after many questions and answers on news and distances from one spot to another, with him always answering correctly in so far as my small knowledge of the same things could verify, I gave him a piece of paper and a pencil and he pointed out to me the posts, villages, and distances from some to others with all the formality of a great Indian warrior." (Up to this point the report of the Indian.)

I have given a passport to an inhabitant of Tombeché called Tornabull in order that he might take his horses and cattle to Baton Rouge where he has permission from Your Lordship to establish himself since he is the partner of Don Juan Joyce and owns a half-interest. I learned on good authority that, having taken eighty horses from his estate at Tombeché for Baton Rouge, he arrived there with only fourteen. The news I have of Tornabull is that he was a rebel during the last war and of little consequence, that is to the Spaniards. I became suspicious of the large number of horses that were missing when he arrived at Baton Rouge because he may have sold them to the Americans for the ends which they are planning against us.

I confidentially wrote to Fucher that I would make a secret investigation of the route of Tornabull and the reason for the missing horses. To my confidential letter he responds as follows: "I asked an Indian if the horses that Tornabull had sold to the Americans were good and if he had received a good price for them. He answered that he had no knowledge he had sold any horses to the Americans, but that he knew Tornabull passed with many animals through the Choctaw nation on his way to the Mississippi River. He does not know the number of them but he does know that many of them died on the journey. He was likewise forced to leave another lot with the Choctaws because they could not travel due to weakness and sickness. I had the same news before from another Indian and it seems to be true because Tornabull has asked me for a passport that he may go to the Choctaws in search of them. Nevertheless I shall not cease secretly to watch his conduct."

God keep you, etc.

MOBILE, August 12, 1792.

MANUEL DE LANZOS

(By copy) SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

## OLIVIER TO BURGESS

*August 14, 1792*<sup>48</sup>CUESSEITAWS 14<sup>th</sup> august 1792

Sir: you Will ples to Call a Meeting With the Touns from below the ufalles Doune and inform them that they Will Receive from the Comondant of St. marcks, you Will ples to inquier of them the Number of Gun men Resieding Eache Toune and Give Eache Chief that will go for the amanetion &c. an acount of them on a peace of paper that he may Show the Comondant; and Receive acording to thaer Number of Each Toune; if they are agreeable to the Talks Told the Lower Tounes in the Cuseittaw yesterday as the White King of the ufalles Will inform you Will tell you the Contentes off you will ples to Keep a Memerandom of the perticalor Tounes & Number you give a Tickett to the Comondant for to Receive amanyton that you Will be so Good as to Send me that I may be informed how meny men has been Suplyed at St Marcks—and your<sup>s</sup> Graetly Sir most hum<sup>l</sup>.

Servt.

P. OLIVIER (Rubric)

C<sup>ry</sup>. for his C. M. in the Creek Nation

[Addressed:]

James Buregess Esq<sup>r</sup> on flint River—Appalatche

N.B. ples to forwaerd the Comondants

Letter by the furst Oppertuenittey as Will be Delevered by W<sup>t</sup>. King.

## DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*September 5, 1792*<sup>49</sup>

No. 1.

I have finally arrived at the Choctaw nation after travelling for six days out from Bayou Pierre. I came down with fever on the way, but this, however, did not interrupt my journey, although my illness increased considerably. I was at the point of death upon my arrival at the nation, and without prospects of spiritual or temporal aid. Yet, I pulled myself out of danger with much hot water. There remains nothing but general feebleness, although this has not prevented me from calling an assembly at the Large Part in which I spoke to them on your behalf. I informed them that you had been most surprised to learn that, without having consulted either you or any of your governors and commandants, they should have allowed themselves to be taken by surprise by isolated white men who were

<sup>48</sup> BL, (English).<sup>49</sup> BL, (French).

seeking only to deceive them and to draw them into a war from which they would not be able to extricate themselves. I told them, that on the contrary, their duty was to join the Chickasaws, the Talapoosas, and the Cherokees in order to prevent these same whites from invading their lands, which they covet, as this demonstration proves, and that, finally, they were to take no steps without consulting you, in accordance with the agreement made at the Mobile Congress. I pointed out that this was something which you hoped they would observe another time.

Franchimastabé spoke after me and said that he thought I had come to the nation on your behalf to inform them that you were going to hold a Congress at Mobile, but that, since this was not the case, he begged me in the name of the entire Large Part to write to you for them. I replied to him that you were too busy at New Orleans, and that besides you had always given goods to the red men who came to see you ever since your arrival in the colony. Taboka spoke also and said many fine things. Then the gathering dispersed. When I arrived at the nation, Franchimastabe had already given the two American medals to Toorner Bichairs for him to send to the governor of Natchez, who in turn was to send them to you. However, the other large one, which had been given to one of our medal-chiefs named Tloupoue Nantla, of the Village of Canlabatia in the Small Part, is still in his possession. He left immediately for Cumberland upon receiving it and has not yet returned. Four people, however, have come from there. I questioned one, and he told me that five hundred fifty Chickasaw people led by Payemingo and Ogoulayacabe, and one hundred and seven Choctaw people along with fourteen captains and one medal-chief went to Cumberland and stayed there eighteen days.

An American officer arrived who informed them that he was coming on behalf of his chiefs to speak to them and give them the presents which had been promised to them at Charleston a long time ago. He said that the Americans considered the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations as their brothers and friends and that they wanted to give them proofs of their friendly feelings, but that the Talapoosas killed their people every day and stole their horses, and that they did not know how it would all turn out. He strongly recommended that the Chickasaws and Choctaws should maintain the peace with all the nations, and told them that the Americans, the French, the English, and the Spanish were all united and of a single mind. Therefore he hoped that the Spanish would not object to the Americans giving presents to the Indians, as well as double commissions, as a sign of friendship.

The Americans gave four more to various warriors, which make

twenty-two commissions they have given, but no medals. They gave to each chief four Limbourg blankets and four white woolen ones, and two of each kind to each one of the warriors, as well as powder and lead ingots, as they had no bullets for them. They did not give them any knives, scissors, vermilion, or kettles, and only three rifles to the principal chiefs. They did not make any suggestion about their waging war, but merely stated that they would attempt once again to destroy the Kickapoos. However, they stated that, if they should be unable to succeed, they would make peace with them next spring.

Taskactoca, king of the Chickasaws, had gone to the Talapoosas. He came back several days ago and sent word to Franchimastabe that he would come to the Choctaws here one of these days, and that he was to wait for him. The latter was getting ready to leave for Mobile with Tornair Bichairs. He says the commandant is expecting him there. He is being spoilt by being asked everywhere; he will think that he is more important than he is and will become more and more troublesome. I made him postpone his trip four or five days, because I believe that the king of the Chickasaws is to come here with Tourneboul who went to that nation with a passport from the commandant of Mobile. Neither he nor the king has come back from the Chickasaws, and Franchimastabe is leaving for Mobile today, the fourth of this month. I have just harangued all the chiefs and warriors of the Small Part. I am sending you a copy of what I said to them, hoping that you will approve what I have done. They told me that they begged you not to believe that any of the other chiefs were in favor of this trip since on the contrary they were opposed to it; but that the red men are not like the white men, for they are not disciplined like them.

These chiefs seemed all to be having our interests at heart, according to their speeches, especially the chief of the Conchak, called Mingo-pouscouche. They received me gladly and told me that I should witness their actions, and that I should thereby be able to inform you as to who were the good Indians and who the bad. Upon arriving at the nation I went to Yasou, Franchimastabe's village, where Tornair Bichairs was staying. After making my first speech there I went to the Small Part where I am going to reside with Favre, who is employed by the King and who will serve me as interpreter. He is the best one of the province, with a great influence over the minds of the Indians, and he knows how to lead them firmly whenever necessary. When he found out that I was coming as commissioner to this nation, he had a comfortable hut built for me. I shall live there if you will allow me because I find that life there will be simpler. Since it is only four leagues away from Franchimastabe's village, I shall therefore be able to know what is going on in both parts with equal facility.

In Franchimastabe's village there are nothing but drunkards who expose one all the time to the risk of being insulted and molested. I believe that it makes no difference in which part I live since the good of the service does not suffer; besides, Tornair Bichairs, who is trustworthy, will inform me of what is going on in his village, which I can easily get to in two hours. Furthermore, I have to make frequent tours in the various villages of this nation to know what is happening. When I shall have regained a little strength I shall go to the Six Villages to continue my harangues; although not one of those Indians has gone to Cumberland, it is wise to forestall them for fear that they will fall into error. The Indians like presents, and those received by the others might well tempt them.

If you could possibly forbid the introduction of liquor into this nation, you would be doing a great good, because it is coming from everywhere and is making the Indians nasty and insolent. Those who are obliged to live among them suffer from this fact. I called together all the traders of this nation and pointed out their line of duty to them. I obliged them to tell me all that they might learn and to warn me whenever some vagabond would wander in, and to bring him to me if the case necessitated it. I also warned them that, if they had any arguments, they were to complain to me and that I should deal out justice to them. They all seemed satisfied. There is a considerable mortality of horses in the nation. The traders have lost theirs and there is not one left to carry their furs to Mobile. The Indians are in the same fix, and besides they are going to die of hunger because the drought has caused their corn crop to fail.

God have you in His Holy keeping.

AT THE CHOCTAWS, *September 5, 1792.*

JN. DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

To the BARON DE CARONDELET.

DECOIGNE to TRUDEAU

*September 8, 1792*<sup>50</sup>

MY FATHER: I am fulfilling the promise I have made you of telling you all the news which I might learn.

None has reached me, except General Putnam's invitation of which I enclose a copy herewith, and my departure for Post Vincennes. Wait for my return, which will take place in twenty days; at that time I shall give you a word for word account of the treaty which we are going to make.

My father, since I have gone into debt to send my son to school,

<sup>50</sup> BL, (French).

I need forty piastres. If you will lend them to me, I shall arrange to discharge this debt next winter in otter and beaver skins.

Be in good health, my father, and believe me sincerely,

JEAN BAPTISTE DECOIGNE  
*Chief of the Kaskaskias tribe*

My compliments to my mother.

KASKASKIA, *September 8, 1792.*

If you are willing to lend me the said sum, oblige me by sending it at the earliest safe opportunity.

[Addressed:]

To Zenon Trudeau, Civil and Military Governor of the Western part of the Mississippi in Illinois, at St. Louis.

PUTNAM TO THE INDIANS OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.<sup>51</sup>

TO THE KASKASKIA AND PEORIA INDIANS, AND TO ALL THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE RED PEOPLE IN THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY.

Chiefs and warriors:

I left the Grand Council of the United States, where the Great and Good Chief General Washington resides, in order to see you. I am bringing you the best wishes of his heart, and I hope this will gladden your heart.

My brothers:

Because of my great friendship for you, I am coming from far away. I should like you to become a happy people, and I believe that nothing will stand in the way of this, provided you and the United States see and hear each other in order to remove all the obstacles against which we have both stumbled. For this purpose I have selected the 20th of September as the date on which we should gather in a fraternal manner at Post Vincennes in order to dry our tears, to incline our hearts towards good trading relationships, and to establish a durable peace and friendship, by shaking hands like real brothers and loving each other with all our hearts.<sup>52</sup>

My brothers:

You see that good things are being prepared for you. Come and find out what they are. I hope that you will be present on the stated day. You will see all the Indians who were captured last year.

Signed: RUFUS PUTNAM (L.S.)  
*Brigadier General*

<sup>51</sup> BL, (French).

<sup>52</sup> Following the defeat of General St. Clair, the United States made several attempts to negotiate a peace with Indian tribes north of the Ohio. Finally Brigadier General Putnam, aided by a Moravian missionary, induced some of the Wabash and Illinois Indians to go to a conference at Vincennes. There on September 27, 1792, a short-lived treaty was negotiated.

## DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*September 10, 1792*<sup>53</sup>

The chief named Soutonche Houmastabe, who behaved in a very commendable manner when the commissioners came to the Choctaw nation, is sending his nephew and two of his relatives to ask you for two barrels of tafia to give to the warriors who are going to build a hut for him, and he begs you to give some to these relatives who are coming to see you. As we are at a time when we must humor those chiefs, especially strong-minded people like him, I hope that you will be kind enough to give them the present. He had also asked for a pair of pants and a shirt for each of them. I told him that you did not have any for the time being because the boats had not arrived.

The king of the Chickasaws has just come from the Talapoosa nation with a message from the latter for the Choctaw nation, as well as some beads and tobacco, to persuade them to join together in defending their land, their women, and their children against the Americans. They also ask the Spaniards for powder in order to have some with them and to use it in case of need. I feel that this is a delicate situation, but what can be done about it? Some hundred-odd Choctaws went to Cumberland for presents. Each of the sixteen captains received eight Limbourg and white blankets, and each warrior four, which pleased them all immensely. They are praising the Americans to the skies, saying that they did not speak harshly to them and did not ask to buy land of them as they had been told, so that consequently they would establish communications with them.

The Chickasaws, who are even more won over, than the Choctaws went there, 500 strong, led by Payemingo and Ogoulayacabe, and returned with the utmost satisfaction. The Americans proposed to the latter to start trading with them on a bayou called Bear Creek which runs into the Cherokee River, but they prudently replied that this was not possible at present and that the Talapoosas would destroy them and their storehouse, so that it was better to wait a little. This is, therefore, a matter that is almost settled between them, and I fear that the future will bear me out. I talk to them every day about it, but the journey has harmed us considerably, and I think that we can get out of it only by counteracting their conduct somewhat.

I have made harangues in the Large Part and in the Small Part which have had a very good effect, and I had intended to go to the part of the Six Villages, but I have fallen ill again, because my

<sup>53</sup> BL, (French).

stomach is extremely upset by the bad food. I shall go there, however, as soon as I shall be able. I shall send you a report of my activities since my arrival at Choctaw, but it will be through Batist, a local trader whom Monsieur le Baron is sending you for Nogales, and a copy of the speeches I have made to the Choctaws to have them mend their ways. As there was a safe man leaving for New Orleans, I informed the governor of what is going on and sent him a copy of the speeches I have made.

As the king of the Chickasaws is waiting for the return of Franchimastabe, who left for Mobile seven days ago, before speaking to the nation, I shall inform you of what has happened and of the manner in which the Choctaws have received these messages. I believe they will have a good effect in the present circumstances especially as it is coming from the Talapoosas. I read to the Chickasaw king the letter which you had given me for him. It flattered him a great deal, and he asked me to tell you that he is carrying you in his heart, that he hopes to see you some day and renew his friendship, and that he is quite grateful for the sugar and coffee that you sent him. He has quarrelled with Payemingo and Ogoulayacabe who had proposed that he go to America with them. He did not even reply to them; on the contrary, he left immediately for the Talapoosa nation where he arrived fifteen days ago. After resting there he came to the Choctaws with Mr. Turnbull who has gone to the Chickasaws.

The commandant of Mobile has called eight small and large medal chiefs to speak to them at Fort Tombecbé. I do not know the reason for this, since he wrote to Favre and not to me. They must be there the 12th current, and return immediately afterwards. The king of the Chickasaws is asking you for a lock, a pair of hinges, and a few pounds of nails for a hut he is having built.

God have you in His holy keeping.

BOUKFOUCA, *September 10, 1792.*

At the house of Monsieur Favre where I am staying

JN. DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

M. DON MANUEL GALLOZO DE LEMOS

DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO [CARONDELET]

*September 12, 1792.*<sup>54</sup>

*Translated and sent to Aranda with No. 2 in reply to No. 14.*

As I desire to inform you accurately of what went on at Cumberland, I have made all the necessary inquiries. I am able to tell you

<sup>54</sup> BL. (French).



that 550 Chickasaws went there with 107 Choctaws. General Blount arrived there also, and after calling them together, spoke to them thus: "I am coming on behalf of my chief to give you presents and to tell you that we have not made you come here to ask lands of you nor to urge you to make war against any other nation, but only to make your acquaintance, to enter into an alliance with you in order that we may live in peace, and be friends with your nations forever. We propose to you merely the establishment of a trading post at the entrance of the bayou which is called in English 'Bear Creek' and in Indian 'Actchipo,' and which runs into the Cherokee River. We shall furnish you trading merchandise there and we shall trade together." To which the Chickasaws replied that, if they established a trading post there, they would not be able to maintain themselves in it, since the Talapoosas killed their men even in the midst of their towns, and stole all their horses, which was proof enough that they could not remain in peace at that place, so why was this impossible thing being proposed to them? If later on they desired to trade with them at Cumberland, the young men who went to hunt in that direction could sell them their furs.

Governor Blount then named four chiefs of the Chickasaw nation, Payemingo, Ougoulayacabé, Mongoulachamingo, and Tchinabé, to go and see Washington next spring at Philadelphia. Once there they might expect to be fully compensated for their troubles. He made a present to the chiefs which consisted in four Limbourg blankets, four white ones, one uniform, one hat, four pairs of trousers, four pairs of leggings, four lace shirts, some cloth, a little powder, and a few lead bars, as he did not have any ball. Not having any muskets, he gave only three rifles to the three principal chiefs. To each warrior he gave one half of what he gave to the chiefs.

That is what their presents amounted to. Governor Blount then asked them where they wanted to receive their axes and tomahawks, as he expected to be able to give them some within a short time. To this the Chickasaws replied: "If you have any why do you mention another place? Doubtless you have none." Governor Blount at this juncture got up and told them that they might withdraw whenever they wished as he had nothing else to tell them on behalf of his high chief. This, I believe, is the accurate story of what took place. The red men talk a lot and lie as much, so that we can not rely on what they say. Some say one thing and others something else, but this information comes from the right source and I believe it certain, since it comes from a white man called Maquânse, a trader in the Chickasaw nation. He is an honest man who had gone to Cumberland to collect some debts and who had taken the opportunity of traveling with the Chickasaws for fear of being killed by the Talapoosas. When

they all arrived at Cumberland the Chickasaws asked him to be their interpreter. It is from him that the king of the Chickasaws learned all that went on, and he told me everything word for word.

As this trader is to leave in a few days for Natchez I sent word to Mr. Gayoso to question him himself. He is an honest man and will tell him all that took place, in accordance with what the king of the Chickasaws told me. I shall do my utmost to win him over to our interests so as to be better informed of what is going on among the Chickasaws. Besides, this man has a great influence over the chiefs and is very well-liked by this nation, and I have been assured that he was devoted to our cause. There are among the Choctaws many bad whites who are living with the Indians, but as they have taken wives, the Indians are supporting them. It will be possible to chase them out only with great difficulty and after some time. However, I shall be able to catch them at the proper time in case of mischief, and I shall either have them expelled by the Indians or arrested, as the case may require.

I am going to do my best to have the interpreter Jean Pchiline arrested, and I shall be obliged to take precautions because he lives near the Chickasaw road away from the other villages, but with six Indian huts in his vicinity to help him. Yet, I hope, at the moment when he will least expect it, to have him taken by Indians or white men. He has never left his house and has always remained on his guard since his arrival. As I was ill, I was unable to act; even now I have no strength and my stomach is quite upset. There appeared at a Choctaw village, a Talapoosa who said that his people were a little distance away, without saying where. But it is suspected that they are looking for some Americans whom they have been told are living among this nation. I sent an Indian to see whether he could find them and bring them to me, in order that I might speak to them for fear they would kill some of the traders. However, there would be no great harm if they caught some of these bad Americans. The king of the Chickasaws arrived among the Choctaws the seventh of this month with a message and some tobacco and beads for the Choctaws; but as Franchimastabé had left for Mobile upon the demand of the commandant, as I had the honor of telling you in my previous letter, he did not see him, of course, and stayed with Mr. Favre and myself until Franchimastabé's return so that he might confer with him and afterwards with all the chiefs of the nation.

Here is the theme of their message: The Talapoosas are warning the Choctaws to beware of being deceived by the Americans who are seeking only to seize their lands, and to enslave their women and children, as was the case with the Cherokees. They were obliged to cede to the Cherokees a part of their land for crops, and they also

had to defend them by force against the Americans who harassed them continually. Finally they had to appeal to the governor, their father, who gave them a good quantity of powder and ball to defend themselves. Let them do the same thing as soon as possible so that they may be in a position to maintain themselves, and let them unite to fight for their lands. The time was nearer than they thought, so that they must go promptly to the city to get munitions and keep them with them in readiness for the moment that they would need them.

The king of the Chickasaws wants me to be present at the conferences, and I do not think I can refuse him. However, if you think that this would compromise us with the Americans, command me to do what you wish. The gathering will not occur before fifteen days at the earliest.

The two sons of Colbert and Oupaiémingo of the Chickasaws before leaving for Cumberland each received a medal from the American commissioners, which makes three for this nation. There is still another one in the Choctaw nation, which was given to the chief Tloupouyéantla of the village of Kanlabatia. The fourteen captains each received a commission at Cumberland so that they now have both the Spanish and American ones. I shall do my best to take the commissions away from them. Oulataoupayé of the Yanabé village will give you this letter. Though he was not sent especially, he is a man whom I recommend to you as being potentially useful to us for he is a good warrior.

God have you in His holy keeping.

AT BOUGFOUCA, *September 12, 1792.*

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO LANZOS

*September 16, 1792*<sup>55</sup>

The king of the Chickasaws has just fulfilled a very important commission in view of the present circumstances. He went to the Talapoosa nation and brought back from there tobacco, beads, and a message of alliance and peace with the Chickasaws and Choctaws which he is going to deliver himself to the chiefs and warriors of the Choctaw nation upon Franchimastabe's arrival. As this chief has spent the whole period of the harvest on this commission, he asks that he be given eight barrels of tafia so that he may buy corn for his family's subsistence, and that this tafia be delivered by whomever goes to Fort Saint Etienne to the house of Tourneboul who promised to

<sup>55</sup> BL, (French).

take it to his house. If you can give it to him let him have it as soon as possible.

BOUKFOUCA, *September 16, 1792.*

God have you in His holy keeping

JN. DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

[Addressed:]

To DON MANUEL DE LANZOS, Captain and Civil and Military Commandant of the city of Mobile and dependencies.

WATERS TO PORTELL

*September 20, 1792*<sup>56</sup>

LOUISVILLE, *Sept. 20, 1792.*

SIR: When I left New Madrid in July 'twas with an Intention to examine at Cumberland what Reports there could be there to Justify Mr. McCormack for his Attack on my Character with you & in your Mind. this I thought the most important part of my Business at Cumberland. . . . I have made every possible inquiry & search but I cannot find where Mr. McCormack obtained the Foundation of his Assertions. . . . I am led to conclude his assertions are false from every Thing that I can find out. . . . If I could have been present when Mr. McCormack laid in his Accusations against me, I should have been better able to detect his falsities; but without This I expect I shall be able to remove every doubt: with any Impartial Judge and such I've every Reason to expect you to be.

Tis a matter of Poignant Mortification to me to have to Vindicate myself from the asperations of a Wretch of John McCormacks abject Situation; whose Steps from near Pittsburgh to Detroit & from thence to New Madrid (*by common Report*) are mark'd with Duplicity, Infamy & Disgrace. I will not dwell on this. my Indignation could not say less to shew the unequal Contest between this fellow & myself—I have a Character, a reputable Connection of Friends, & some little Estate: all might suffer from his vile Insinuations—Whereas he has nothing to loose & is in no kind of Danger and as it is impossible to make the Blackamore white, so there is no danger of his getting any Blacker—

From what Mr. McCormack gave out in the begining of July I expected to have found him in Cumberland & then perhaps he would take me to his people who gave him his News; I waited three Weeks in Cumberland on this Business, & went three Times to Genl. Robertsons to Nashville & to the Treaty but had not the pleasure of seeing or even hearing of Mr. McCormack—

Inclos'd I send for your Satisfaction five Certificates, one from

<sup>56</sup> BL, (English).

Chas. Snider (an Intimate of M<sup>r</sup>. McCormacks) seting forth what McCormack shoud say he had heard at Gen<sup>l</sup>. Robertsons. . . . one from Jas. Finly (the young Man who came to New Madrid in the Service of Bagly Hueit & Co) seting forth the Tone of M<sup>r</sup>. McCormacks Conversation at New Madrid & his endeavours to dessuade my Hands from performing their Duty to me & persuading them to desert their Engagements.

One from Geo. Bell, Rob<sup>t</sup>. Neilson, E. Shelby and Valen. Sevier, seting forth their avow'd Acknowledgment of their Letter to you & how far I was concern'd therein.

One from Anthony Crutches (their Clerk) Certifying his doing the writings belonging to that aforesaid Letter and by what directions.

And lastly One Certificate from Gen<sup>l</sup>. James Robertson; contradicting the Reports which M<sup>r</sup>. McCormack has given of the Gen<sup>l</sup>. as to hanging me & God knows what & Certifying to you what kind of a Man he (Gen<sup>l</sup>. Robertson) supposes me to be—

Whether there will be sufficient to erace the impressions made to my Prejudice by M<sup>r</sup>. McCormack, I know not; but what further I can do for a more compleat Satisfaction if you point it out to me: I think I can do it; for my own part I can't feel any Thing more, I can do; unless I could know more particularly The Amount & particulars of his Accusation;

I am truly sorry to trouble you so much about this & shall only add that I am exceedingly mortified at finding my honest Endeavours last Fall & Winter to serve my King & fellow Subjects misrepresented by such a Man as Jn<sup>o</sup>. McCormack. & his bare Ipse Dixit sufferd to Transform them into matter of Accusation & Uneasiness to me. I came to this Place the 22<sup>d</sup>. last Month; & immediately took a Ride through the Country & to Charles Depawe's, with whom I expect to have a good deal of difficulty: I have been very much deceiv'd & disappointed by this Man—& think I shall be compell'd to Institute Processes against him. I have been advis'd to commence Suits against Him here;—but I believe I will postpone it till he comes to within the Kings Dominions—

I suppose you have had Accounts from the Treaty between the Chacktaws & Chickasaws with the people of Cumberland; I will just mention the Heads.—Those Indians have receiv'd their Friendship and accepted very large presents from Governor Blount.—They Claim most of the Lands South of the River Cumberland & have promiss'd to drive off Double Head & his party out of their Country—They refus'd to Governor Blount any Permission to erect Garrisons or Block Houses at the Mouth of Bear Creek which empties into Tenese or any other place not already settled by the Americans—so much

I heard publickly in Treaty—It was moreover whisperd to me by a man in whom I can Confide & who was privy to the Governor's Secret Informations; That the Indians had informd him (the Governor) that his Catholic Majesty had constantly imployd emissaries among Them to instill notions into their Minds injurious to the Americans—as Warning Them. (the Chacktaws & Chickasaws). That the Americans had the seizing their lands in View; & only made Treaties & offerd Goods as the Grounds & payment for their Lands. my Informant seems to suppose their Accounts are credited—This was mentiond to me in Confidence & so I mention it to you: perhaps it may answer a purpose—this is all I know of any Consequence in that Quarter.

Three Flags have been sent to the Northern Indians for Peace. none have returnd—all suppos'd to be kill'd—Col<sup>o</sup>. J. Harding: and a Mgor Trueman are two of the Flags, the other I dont Know.

Those Indians still Continue their hostilities without remission, some preparations are making against them but so slowly that 'tis suppos'd nothing of Consequence will be done this Fall. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Putnam with some Troops and a considerable quantity of Goods has lately gone on to Post S<sup>t</sup>. Vincennes in order to Treat with the Wawbash & Illinois Indians: 'tis not expected that this Treaty will have any lasting Effect; but is calculated to Amuse those Indians & divert Them from immediate Acts of Hostilities untill the Americans can get reinforced by new recruits & prepar'd for another Expedition.

While these Things are doing by the United States, this District (Kentucky) has undergone a very considerable Change: it has thrown off its Dependence on Virginia; has its own Governor and all other officers Civil & Military; have made Laws for raising a Revenue by Taxation, & these Things which considerably inflam'd the Minds of the People & dispos'd many of Them for Emigration to his Majesty's Dominions . . . I dont know whether they all may be as good as their promise: but 3 or 4 Families talk very positively of coming down particularly a Daniel Wientzell (a sadler) who has requested of me: to Petition to You for a Plantation adjoining Lake Ulela if 'tis vacant—I expect the pleasure of arriving at New Madrid some time in Dec. with the Sloop Ulela; in the mean Time I must beg your assistance & protection if needed to my little Concerns at New Madrid & believe me Sir very respectfully Y<sup>r</sup>. most ob<sup>d</sup>. & Hble Servt.

R. J. WATERS (Rubric)

To CAPT<sup>N</sup>. THO<sup>s</sup>. PORTELL:  
Commandant, New Madrid

## LANZOS TO INDIANS

*September 21, 1792*<sup>57</sup>

*1st.* My Brothers, the purpose of my mission here and of having had you call the chief, is to offer you, on behalf of the general chief of the province, of whom I like yourselves am a subordinate, his friendship and the protection of the great emperor of Spain whose sole desire is to maintain you all in the most perfect union by letting you enjoy in peace and felicity the fruits of your labor. I am also flattered that this commission should have been given to me by the great chief since it has procured me the pleasure of knowing you, something which I had been wishing for since my arrival at Mobile.

*2nd.* The sincere friendship which our great emperor has evinced towards you, from the time you have been under his protection, tends to keep you on your lands rather than to seek to take them away from you or to ask them of you, since he himself has lands to offer to you should you happen to need any. His care today is to prove to you his friendship by protecting you against your enemies in case any should come to drive you from your territory.

*3rd.* The great occupations of your father in perfecting and putting in good order the commerce of the province with our allies did not allow him or afford him the time to call a congress. However, he intended to do so as soon as he would be free without assuring you when it would give him the pleasure of knowing you and of giving you, at the same occasion, presents in the name of our great emperor.

*4th.* Our great chief hopes that, in return for the friendship he professes for you, if you intend to retain it, you will not receive in your nation any foreigners who under the guise of friendship might introduce themselves and end by appropriating your belongings and territories. They have already done this with other nations which are at present wandering and miserable because they allowed themselves to be seduced by the bait of a first present in the hope of receiving another like it. This is the case with the Shawnee, Cherokee, and Abenaki nations.

*5th.* As our great emperor does not desire to take over your lands, he does not desire either that other nations should take them, as for instance, the Americans, who covet them as they have shown and still show as regards their neighbors, being always desirous of encroaching. This is causing a war between them and the red men which has been lasting for a long time and which will perhaps be waged against all the Indians nations until their total destruction. And in order not to have neighbors as harmful to the red

<sup>57</sup> BL, (French). A Pinart transcript marked Fl. Occ. 21-1241.

men as to the white, which would make them all unhappy, we should be obliged to fight a war against them which would disturb them a great deal. This they could not sustain against an emperor as powerful as ours who desires nothing but the welfare of the Indian nations and who wants to help them in all the hostilities which might be committed against them by supplying them with weapons and war ammunition in a just cause.

*6th.* One of our good friends from your nation, as well as one of your white people, has assured us that the Americans had established a fort in the midst of a Chickasaw village. If the thing is true, as I believe it is, you will see how gently these Americans will treat you in your turn, making you fine speeches in order to obtain from your nation the same advantages so that afterwards you will not be able to hunt whenever you desire. They will not lose many warriors and they will oblige you to abandon your lands or to remain amongst them as slaves. Therefore, in order to avoid this disgrace, it is necessary that you who are clever point these things out to your brothers the Chickasaws who have permitted this establishment, so that they will force them to destroy it without ever allowing it to be done again for fear of losing their lands, their families, and their liberty. In case the Chickasaws who have allowed it do not wish to listen to your good reasons on this matter, you might join those of the Chickasaws who are your friends, to bring them back to their senses amicably.

*7th.* Notwithstanding everything that I have said to you about our Great Father, he is the friend of peace and desires nothing else although he does not fear war. He charges you to treat gently all the whites who reside in your village unless you suspect them of being inimical to your interests, to kill nobody unless in self-defense, and not to commit any act of hostility against the Americans established on our domain whom you are to look upon as being Spanish subjects. Finally, we are hoping for general harmony.

St. STEPHEN, *September 21, 1792.*

MANUEL DE LANZOS

(Copy)

Names of the chiefs and captains with gorgets who will come to this post for the meeting of the 21st of September next.

Chiefs with large medals	{	Mingo Puscouche
	{	Nauli Mastabé
	{	Oupaolo
	{	Puchi Mastabé



Chiefs with small medals	{	Atunauman Tanap human Tupa human Tanche Falayabé Tasca Naugochiuman Pauche Laganan
Captains with gorgets.	{	Cachunan Mastabé Lapin Labé Tapiniche Wichayabé Pucha human Noscobob
205 warriors		10 women
		7 children

## TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*September 23, 1792*<sup>58</sup>

The bad talks of the Loup Indians against these settlements has been a source of great anxiety to me for some time. Urged by the Shawnees, with whom they are allied, they have refused to come and greet me, as all the other Indians have done and are doing daily. It was only because of a letter I wrote them that they finally decided to come with their head chief of this district, not to greet me as the others, but, using that pretence, to try to find out whether what I wrote to them had actually been ordered by Your Lordship.

Because of information received concerning the custom of this nation, I purchased twenty thousand porcelain beads used in making the only collars which they regard very highly. These serve as symbols for messages and they carry them from one nation to another, to compensate them and make them forget the murders committed against their people. I had four collars made of these porcelain beads, each one consisting of twelve rows six feet long, and delivered them in behalf of Your Lordship, saying to them:

*Your father, the great chief, has learned that you are mourning the death of your sons and brothers. He sends you these collars so that you may dry your eyes and so that they may serve as a balm to your hearts. Your father, the great chief, hopes that you will live content and at peace, and that you will pass these collars to all your chiefs and nations so that they too may dry their eyes and relieve their aching hearts.*

This short speech, in accordance with their custom and other similar things which I told them on behalf of Your Lordship,

<sup>58</sup> BL.

filled them with satisfaction. They accepted the collars, passing them from one to the other in sign of approbation. They expressed to me their pleasure in learning that Your Lordship had taken them into consideration. They promised me that they would send a courier immediately to carry the four collars to the chiefs of the whole nation. This they have done, for I have just received replies from those chiefs, in which they promise to maintain peace, and inform me of the death of their king. Nevertheless they are going to preserve the peace they promised. As a proof of this they have shown me a collar which they were going to have passed around among all the nations, until it reaches Your Lordship's hands.

The chiefs even in the American district, after having had the aforesaid collar sent to me, have informed me that in a short time one of them was to come to spend the winter in this district, and that he would ask me to write to the commandant of the post at Vincennes requesting that permission be granted to many of them to pass without war and freely to congregate in our settlements and lands. I replied that I would write, but that they should always be on their guard, bearing in mind the many occasions on which they have been deceived, as they would always be deceived there. I assured them that this would never be their experience with us.

It has been necessary for me to give these two parties a larger present than has been given to the other nations, but they were satisfied and content without asking for more as the other savages always do.

Although I had no authorization to buy the twenty thousand porcelain beads, which cost me six pesos a thousand, I realized that this expense was indispensable for the tranquility and peace which Your Lordship orders me to maintain with this nation and I decided to do it. I am confident of meriting approval of Your Lordship, which I shall await for the collection of the 120 pesos expended out of my own pocket.

God protect Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *September 23, 1792.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*October 11, 1792*<sup>59</sup>

No. 31.

General Putnam has just made peace at the post of Vincennes with seven savage nations, on condition that the Indians shall reserve the

territory from the entrance of the Ohio River on the left side up to the Falls, and extending in a straight line as far as the Lakes; that the whites who hold possessions in the interior of that country shall retain them; and if in future the United States wishes to make other establishments, it will be obliged to buy the lands which it needs from the Indians, but no individual can directly buy any portion for himself.

The prisoners who have been taken must be restored by both sides respectively. There were eight hundred Indians at the post of Vincennes to take part in this peace, and the principal chiefs have gone to hold a congress for its ratification. Notwithstanding the peace which has been concluded, it is said that at Fort Pitt there are four thousand troops and a thousand horses, with the whole train of supplies, and that this army is to be divided between four different points. This is all that has come to my notice from these regions and that I ought to communicate to your Lordship.

God keep your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *October 11, 1792.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

REPORT ON TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND  
INDIANS OF THE WABASH <sup>60</sup>

No. 1.

Indian nations present at the treaty made at Post Vincennes last September by General Putnam in the name of the United States of America

The Ouatans	}	Nations on the Wabash
The Piankashaws		
The Kickapoos		
The Weas and Miamis of the Eel River		

The upshot of this treaty was to replace the Indians in possession of the lands that they had formerly claimed and to recognize their ownership, regardless of the grant made by the Congress in favor of its inhabitants. A few days after the conclusion of this treaty, a part of the chiefs of each one of those nations left to go to headquarters, accompanied by an officer, interpreters, etc. As a sequel to this, they carried out this treaty, upon leaving, by killing a Frenchman named Jean Baptiste Tougas, called Laviolette. It is not known which nation has committed this crime.

<sup>60</sup> BL, (French).

## CARONDELET TO DE BLANC

*October 18, 1792*<sup>61</sup>

On the 27th of last September the Governor of Natchez, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, wrote to me as follows:

"About a month ago two Indians, who it seemed had had a fight with the Adaes, passed through this neighborhood; I waited up to this time to see whether I could get any reliable information about the occurrence, but I have not been able to discover the truth. Nevertheless I have just learned, through unofficial sources, that the Adaes Indians and all their neighbors are assembling, and getting ready to make war on the Choctaws. I do not know the motive. I surmise that it was for the purpose of obviating the effects of this quarrel, that Ytelaghana, as he told me, thought of going this winter to the other side of the river with forty or more warriors to carry a message to the Adaes Indians, in which were expressed the Choctaws' desires to arrange their differences in a friendly manner. However, he himself could not tell me what they were. This Ytelaghana asked me to beg Your Lordship to be pleased to write to the commandants of the posts on the other side of the river and request them to advise the Indians dependent upon them to maintain good relations with the Choctaws, and to regard them as brothers. They told me that a Spanish commandant on the other side of the river had caused to be delivered to a party of Choctaws a woman of their nation who had been taken prisoner during the skirmish. Consequently I suppose that the commandant referred to must have communicated to Your Lordship the circumstances relating to the event, so that Your Lordship, being informed of the occurrence, will be better able to arrange whatever is necessary. Nevertheless, since Ytelaghana has asked me for the recommendation mentioned, I am of the opinion that it will not be improper to give it to him, and Your Lordship should inform the abovementioned posts on the other side of the river in advance by the first opportunity. I am, further, of the opinion that, when Ytelaghana goes over with the object already stated, some person should accompany him from here who is capable of advising and even directing him and mediating in Your Lordship's name. This should be in order to prevent the breaking out of a war between any of the Indian nations which are under the protection of His Majesty. For this commission I find no one more suitable than Lieutenant Don Estevan Minor, adjutant-major of this place. Although it is an arduous charge, I do not doubt that he will fulfill it with great zeal and skill. As it will be necessary to notify

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<sup>61</sup> BL.

this officer in advance, I beg that Your Lordship will be pleased to communicate to me your decision."

I am sending a copy of this to you for your information, so that in case any one shall accompany the Choctaw chief you will give him the advice and directions that may seem to you to suit the condition of those countries and the character of those nations. You shall endeavor to maintain them in peace and harmony, and explain to those nations on that side that they ought not to take it ill that the Choctaws hunt in those lands, for they are our friends and allies.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 18, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

Señor DON LUIS CARLOS DE BLANC.

TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*October 20, 1792*<sup>62</sup>

No. 33.

A Frenchman named Jaques D'Eglise has just arrived. Having obtained in the month of August of the year 1790, from the commandant who preceded me, a passport to hunt on the Missouri, he provided himself with some merchandise for the purpose of trading with the Indians. As the commandant had prohibited him from all trade with the nations that we know, he ventured to penetrate in his hunting more than eight hundred leagues up the Missouri, where he found eight villages of a nation of which he had some knowledge under the name of Mandan, but to which he had never penetrated by way of this district and river. They are all provided with English arms. They have direct trade with the English according to information received by D'Eglise from a Frenchman who has lived with the nation for fourteen years, and who introduced himself among them with some English merchants from Northern Canada. The latter are still established and fortified at 15 days' march from the place where the aforesaid Mandans are. This nation received and accepted D'Eglise very well. They are as white as Europeans, much more civilized than any other Indians. They live always together and fortified against the numerous nation of the Sioux, with whom they are perpetually at war. It seems that these Mandans also hold communication with the Spaniards, or with nations neighboring to them, for they have Mexican type saddles and bridles for horses, as well as other utensils which D'Eglise has seen among them. He is also of the opinion that the eight villages, which are half a league distant

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<sup>62</sup> BL.

from one another and all on the bank of the Missouri, may have a population of four or five thousand persons. They possess peltries of the finest sort, and in abundance. In sight of these villages there is a volcanic mountain. The Missouri flows always from a western and north-western direction, with sufficient water for navigation by any of the larger boats of these rivers.

This is all that I have been able to clear up about his journey from an ignorant man who has made no observations and who scarcely knows how to speak his own French language.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *October 20, 1792.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*October 21, 1792*<sup>63</sup>

No. 34.

I am transmitting to Your Lordship a writing which several savage nations have directed to me in regard to injuries which they are suffering from the forays of the Osages. I have replied to them that Your Lordship was occupied with the project of making war on this nation; and that you would not have sent traders to them if it had not been so easy for them to go and trade with the English on the Des Moines River. They agreed that it was true, and that the Osage would then be more perverse. Nevertheless I do not believe that this trade could be carried on so easily, because the Osages are at war with the Iowas, Sacs, and Foxes, who are continually on the aforesaid Des Moines River. On the contrary it is to be feared that in their irritation, if traders are taken from them, they will make war on these settlements, and if four or five inhabitant are killed, the rest may become discouraged and migrate to a place where they may live more peacefully. I offer this for Your Lordship's consideration, expecting that you will give me orders for my conduct in this matter. Your Lordship should make arrangements, in case the traders are taken away from the aforesaid Osages, to have sent in advance to the other nations of the Missouri (without divulging the project) trustworthy merchants provided with merchandise for two years. Thus they will surely not be arrested, as some have been previously because the Osages were informed in advance, a fact which is notorious and well-known.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *October 21, 1792.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

<sup>63</sup> BL.

## INHABITANTS OF BATON ROUGE TO PATIN

*November 1, 1792* <sup>64</sup>

TO M. ALEXANDER PATIN, SYNDIC: The undersigned inhabitants have the honor of stating to you that they are for the most part recent settlers on the river, and that they have barely cleared the land to provide sufficient food for their meager subsistence; if they are obliged to do the work required for the levees, ditches, and roads, they will be forced to tear down their cabins and rebuild them farther away from the river; they will be unable to make their harvest; perishing from misery they will be forced to abandon their lands, since all they have is their man-power which will be insufficient for these large works that are not needed for their lands.

You know that the levees built by the petitioners have protected them from the waters of the Mississippi, and as no breaks or crevices occur, they will be able, by keeping their levees, to continue protecting themselves from all floods, saving their crops and having passable roads at all times.

In consideration of this, Sir, if you yourself are not able to exempt the petitioners from undertaking work which is beyond them to accomplish, they beg you to send their most humble petition to His Lordship, Monsieur le Baron de Carondelet, governor of this province, in order that His Lordship may envisage their unfortunate condition and be good enough to take it into consideration.

BATON ROUGE, *November 1, 1792.*

PIERRE LEBLANC

At the request of JEAN DUGAS, PIERRE LEBLANC

JEAN BAPTISTE LEJEUNE

At the request of EUSTACHE LEJEUNE, JEAN BAPTISTE LEJEUNE

At the request of SIMON BABEU, JEAN BAPTISTE LEJEUNE

At the request of EPOULE LEBLANC, JEAN BAPTISTE LEJEUNE

At the request of SERVAN MATURIN LEJEUNE, JEAN BAPTISTE LEJEUNE

At the request of GREGOIRE LEJEUNE, JEAN BAPTISTE LEJEUNE

ETIENNE PELTIE

PIERRE DUGA

J. B. AMIOTTE

VITOIRE DUGATS, VESEATTE

FRANÇOIS BROUSSARD

At the request of JEAN BAPTISTE BOUDAUD, JEAN BAPTISTE TRAHAN

At the request of JOSEPH BRO, JEAN BAPTISTE TRAHAN

At the request of JEAN MARRI TRAHAN, JEAN BAPTISTE TRAHAN

At the request of PIERE BROUSAR, JEAN BAPTISTE TRAHAN

At the request of POLLE BOUDRO, JEAN BAPTISTE TRAHAN

<sup>64</sup> BL, (French).

At the request of DOMMINIQUE BROUSAR, JEAN BAPTISTE TRAHAN  
 NICOLAS BELANGÉ  
 JACQUES GOUBRES

At the request of ENRIE COLIN, JACQUES GOUBRES  
 LOUIS DELATE at the request of the WIDOW MALETE

PIERRE HENRY  
 MAXIMILIEN HENRY  
 LOUIS DELATE  
 NICHOLAS SCALLAN  
 CHARLES ROUCHAUT

At the request of EXAVIER TERRIOT, MAXIMILIEN HENRY  
 CHARLE HENRY  
 AMBROISE TERRIOT

At the request of Batiste Henry, MAXIMILIEN HENRY

At the request of GLODE DÉLATTE, MAXIMILIEN HENRY  
 EDOIARD DAIGLE

CARONDELET TO LAS CASAS

*November 20, 1792*<sup>65</sup>

Copy. No. 57.

Confidential.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

I have the satisfaction of informing Your Excellency under this date that the Cherokee chiefs now in this city, headed by Bloody Fellow, request that Spain re-establish two forts formerly occupied by the French; Tombecbé, situated in the Choctaw nation at 32 degrees and some minutes, that is, at nearly the same latitude as the fort of Nogales, from which, as well as from Mobile, it is eighty leagues distant; and that of Muscle Shoals, on the Tennessee or Cherokee River, in their own nation at 34 degrees and some minutes of the same latitude, some thirty leagues from the east bank of the Mississippi; and some twenty from the former fort of Tombecbé, and finally some thirty-four from the Ohio.

By means of the re-establishment of these two forts Spain would dominate both banks of the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Ohio, forever separating the Americans from it, the navigation and passage of which is the whole object of their settlements in the West. Finally, it would dispel the project that they have conceived of opening communication from Ohio to the sea by the Tennessee or Cherokee, Tugaloo, and Savannah rivers, which I mention in document No. 1 of confidential letter No. 19 to the Most Excellent Señor Conde de Floridablanca.

<sup>65</sup> AGI, .stado, SD, leg. 9.



The advantages are so evident that the Americans have been working for some years past to make themselves masters of that country, but the war and the incursions of the Indians have up to now defeated all their projects and plans.

Spain on the contrary, being invited by those tribes, can occupy the sites, without the least opposition from this commerce," almost up to the said American settlements, supported by its own on the west bank, and by the forts of New Madrid and Nogales; and finally because the forts have been requested by the Indians themselves, they will always be respected by the Americans. Article VII of the Declaration of Rights of the Constitution of Virginia, says that "*No part of any man's property may be taken away from him or applied to public use without his consent or that of his legal representatives, and the people shall not be bound by any law to which they have not, in like manner, assented for the common good.*" This authorizes the Cherokee nation to sell or cede their lands to whomever it best suits them, the more so as the nation is not bound on this point by any treaty with the United States, according to Bloody Fellow and the other chiefs mentioned.

However, in order to prevent their importunities of usurpation or their ambition of unjustly extending their possessions, which might result, as well as to gain time to consult with Your Excellency in a matter of such importance, I have replied to the Cherokee chiefs that as His Majesty neither needs nor desires more dominions or lands than the many he now possesses, he will never consent to make those establishments until the other nations that are to enter into the defensive federation unanimously consent to them, that is, the Choctaws or Chickasaws, Creeks, and Shawnees. All must acknowledge that solely for their own protection and benefit have the Spaniards, at the request of the Cherokees and Choctaws, established and erected the said forts.

Time is precious and secrecy indispensable to prevent the Americans from anticipating this, and driving the Cherokees from those places, so much more so as General Scott was to come down sometime in October to establish a settlement at Muscle Shoals. For this reason I shall, as soon as I have Your Excellency's approval, proceed to execute the aforesaid project, whose advantages do not permit me to doubt you will give it.

In regard to the more than apparent reasons there are for being convinced that the United States will not risk open war with Spain to support their settlements in the West, which have already cost them so much to keep up the war against the savages of the North, and preserve the lands that they have usurped, I refer to what is said in confidential letter No. 51 of October 18 last. Moreover various

states have represented to Congress that all the finest young men are migrating to the settlements in the west, greatly weakening the former. It was discussed in the Congress whether it would not be more advisable to abandon them and the result is that at present they regard those settlements at least with great indifference.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 20, 1792.*

EL BARON DE CARONDELET

Most Excellent Señor DON LUIS DE LAS CASAS.

DE BLANC TO CARONDELET

*November 20, 1792* <sup>66</sup>

No. 47.

In accordance with what Your Lordship informs me in official letter of the 9th of last August of the statement made to you by Antonio, an Indian of the Nacogdoches nation, living with two families of the Yatases, who are the only ones left. I shall conform exactly to what Your Lordship orders me in the matter of the presents to the Indian nations of this district. For the reason that Antonio and his people are now absent hunting, he has not received the present coming to the Yatases, but I shall attend to it immediately on his return. By regulation of His Excellency, Conde de O'Reilly, the Yatases are admitted to receive annually their presents from this province. Therefore, I must infer, in the contention which has arisen between Don Antonio Gil Ybarvo, lieutenant governor of Nacogdoches, and myself in regard to the establishment of Pablo Bouet Lafitte, situated on the bayou of Las Piedras, where the Yatases have their village, that it must depend upon this jurisdiction. The village has in fact at all times done so, as those Indians can testify. I have so stated in my aforesaid contention, of which I have sent a copy to the government with an official letter of Your Lordship of November of last year, No. 21. There has been no reply on the matter up to the present, although I desired it immensely, in order to know in what state the affair is which suspends my functions in this district and over the person of the said Lafitte and his property until the superior decision. This decision will prevent all difficulties in future between the commandant of Nacogdoches and myself in regard to the limits of both jurisdictions, which I consider to be indispensable. So I beg that Your Lordship will

be pleased to take measures to this effect as may best please you, for the success of what I have related.

God Keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCES, *November 20, 1792.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

CARONDELET TO TRUDEAU

*November 28, 1792*<sup>67</sup>

(Answered)

In official letter No. 2, you inform me of the foray made by the Iowa Indians who live on the banks of the Des Moines River, eighty leagues from these settlements, in which they carried off thirty-eight horses from the post of San Carlos del Misuri. These are the only animals which those inhabitants had for working their lands. This occurrence affects me all the more because it will be followed by the privation which the inhabitants will suffer through the poor crop of wheat this year and the shortage of corn.

You, who are on the post, must see if there is any remedy for what has happened, or if the Iowas are a nation from whom the stolen horses may be reclaimed. In such case you will do it, and propose to me any means that may seem feasible to you.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 28, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

Señor DON ZENON TRUDEAU.

DE BLANC TO CARONDELET

*December 1, 1792*<sup>68</sup>

No. 49.

In an official letter of the 18th of last October, Your Lordship transmits to me what Señor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez, had brought to your attention in regard to the war which has broken out between the Ayches and Adayes Indians of the province of Texas against the Choctaws, of which I informed Your Lordship in official letters of July 6, Number 31, and August 16, Number 39. Whenever the official, who is to accompany the Choctaw chief in order to go to those nations, presents himself by order of the aforesaid governor I shall carry out with the greatest zeal the orders of Your Lordship in regard to the matter. I do not doubt that the

<sup>67</sup> BL.

<sup>68</sup> BL.

said nations will obey the honorable recommendation of Your Lordship to permit the Choctaws to hunt in their lands, since they are our allies and friends. I shall avail myself for this purpose of the friendship and respect professed for me by all the Indians of the province of Texas in virtue of the memory of my fathers, their conquerors and benefactors; but I must not conceal from Your Lordship that I have been not at all satisfied with the manner in which the Choctaws have comported themselves with the inhabitants of this district, robbing them of their labors, turning their horses loose in their crops, killing cattle secretly in the woods, and stealing horses in all parts in order to take them to their villages. For these reasons I hope Your Lordship will be pleased to take measures to remedy these disorders hereafter, in view of the fact that the inhabitants are determined not to endure from them in the future such injuries, outrages, and insults. I have, to no avail, tried on my part all the means possible in the way of pacification and gentleness to restrain these Indians.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHITOCHEs, *December 1, 1792.*

LUIS DE BLANC (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

CARONDELET TO MONTREUIL

*December 13, 1792*<sup>69</sup>

No. 4.

I have read your official letters of the 21st of last month and have informed myself of all that has happened in the neighborhood of that fort and the measures that you have taken to endeavor to intercept Wellbanck in his passage to the island of Providence. The activity and prudence with which you have proceeded on this occasion have caused me singular pleasure, and I shall have the satisfaction of relating it all to His Excellency the captain general.

In order that you may be able to make sure of the move, arresting Wellbanck, if possible, on his return from Providence, I am despatching the schooner *La Cecilia*, under its master Ignacio Sierra, with two four pounder cannon and two artillerymen. This ship will obtain a crew made up at Pensacola with twenty or twenty-five soldiers from that garrison.

If Wellbanck should succeed in crossing despite your precatious, you will keep the royal schooner *San Marcos*. You will place on it the two cannon carried by Ignacio Sierra's boat, retaining also the troops you may consider necessary for its service and defense in case it is boarded by the enemy, and returning the rest to Pensacola with the aforesaid schooner of Sierra. But you will maintain great vigi-

lance in order to intercept Wellbanck, or any craft that may come from Providence, taking note that whoever commands the schooner should put all his care and principal effort to getting possession of Wellbanck and of any papers that he may have. If the boat from Providence defends itself, our ship must aim to cut its rigging and sails, terrifying the men by some grapeshot fired from a short distance. For the service of the artillery you will keep the two soldiers of the fixed regiment who are going with this schooner and are attached to the corps of artillery, and who must return as soon as you have no further use for them.

If, on the contrary, Wellbanck does not succeed in making the passage, you will keep both schooners some ten or twelve days longer, or as long as you have any hope of his coming, observing the same precautions if, at any time, you have news that any other ship is expected shortly from Providence.

Since Perriman offered before to deliver up Wellbanck, it will be a good thing for you to promise him five hundred pesos in case he does it. You will also take up with him immediately the purchase of the two cannon he has, for it will never do for him to keep them in his possession.

The great chief of the Cusitas named Kiskilikasky has been here, and I have been well-pleased with him, and have reason to believe that he returned well-satisfied. It would be a good thing for you to send him a message, engaging him to mediate with the partisans of Wellbanck, and to advise them to retire from Ocklockonee until the King's reply to his letter arrives. In the meantime, we will endeavor to lay hold of Wellbanck, and perhaps cause the retirement of Governor Dunmore from Providence. Flatter Chief Kiskilikasky by telling him you have learned that I have placed my confidence in his friendship, for which reason you appeal to him to prevent disagreements with the Seminoles, which would undo what I have discussed with him, with Bloody Fellow, and the other Cherokee chiefs. I am convinced that this message will have the best effect.

While the Indians are in a state of commotion in the neighborhood of that fort, you will not distribute the arms and ammunition that I have sent you, for they might perhaps turn them against us. Nevertheless, if some distant peoples present themselves, or if the above-named Kiskilikasky, chief of the Cusitas, asks you for them, you may give them without making any objection.

The situation of the political affairs of Europe demands that you observe the greatest caution, not permitting any other flag but ours to be raised on the coast.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 13, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET

SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO MONTREUILL.

## REPORT FROM KASKASKIA

*December 15, 1792.<sup>70</sup>*KASKASKIA, *December 15, 1792.*

Some Americans arrived yesterday from Cumberland, confirming to us the news already received some time ago of an invasion made in that region by six hundred Creeks and Cherokees. In an attack on a little stockaded village the savages had thirty men killed and mortally wounded. The Americans did not lose a single man. The Indians threatened to return with larger forces and wage war relentlessly on the Americans.

To this report our travelers add some circumstances to which I very much hesitate to give credit. They say that Mr. Fago, who carried on trade at Cumberland, on his return to New Orleans assured the governor that extensive preparations and assembling of troops were being made by the Americans to attack New Orleans, and that on this information the governor sent presents to the savages inciting them to fall on the Americans of Kentucky and Cumberland. They report that a Frenchman, charged with carrying the governor's word to them and having some letters signed by him for the chiefs, with a promise of five hundred piastres for himself for accompanying them to Cumberland, escorted them there and left them at a short distance from the settlement, under the pretext of going to scout; that this Frenchman had his wife and children there; that he disclosed to the inhabitants the place where the savages were and delivered to them the letters and other papers of the governor which were immediately sent to Congress.

Such is the account of the belief generally spread abroad in the Cumberland country on the subject of the invasion of the Indians. I can readily believe that Mr. Fago could have been able to make up fairy tales to the governor of sham warlike preparations which very assuredly exist only in the credulity of a man ill-informed and perhaps also embittered against the Americans who forced him to pay his debts. But I shall not easily persuade myself that on a mere report of Mr. Fago the governor has ordered a measure of such an inflammable nature and which might, if it were verified, stir up a war between Spain and the United States, the consequences of which could only be very disastrous to Louisiana at this time.

I have the firmest conviction that the Americans have no intention whatsoever of attacking New Orleans. But I think, also, that if the invasion of the Indians was ordered or solicited by the governor, these will give vent to their resentment, no matter how poorly prepared they may be, and they will not be restrained by the orders of

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<sup>70</sup> BL, (French).

Congress. I sincerely wish that some minds can be undeceived of an error spread by the enemies of peace and eagerly received by prejudice. Once again I shall regard these orders of the governor, given on the testimony of Mr. Fago, and the execution of which was said to be intrusted to an adventurer whose name I have been unable to find out, as an ill-framed fable. They want us to believe that the Baron de Carondelet had charged with a delicate commission and important papers a *coureur des bois* married to a *drouine* in Cumberland and to be suspected because of that alone.

No, I do not believe a word of it. I have heard the blame for the war of the savages of the south against the Americans put upon the Spanish government a thousand and one times. I can almost guess the basis for Mr. Fago's credulity and his reports to Monsieur the Governor. After the unfortunate defeat of General St. Clair, Congress had made extensive preparations for a vigorous campaign against the Indians of the north; and at the moment when all the arrangements were made to set the army in motion, Congress proposed a treaty to the Indians which astonishes everybody. Those who wished to know absolutely the why, the how, and the wherefore of all the events, imagined that apparently Congress found itself on the verge of war and that war could only be against Spain; and in Louisiana this belief has spread to excite the minds of the masses; and Mr. Fago, as well as many others, may have taken vague rumors for truth, popular suspicions for certain facts.

CARONDELET TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*December 18, 1792*<sup>71</sup>

MOST ESTEEMED SIR: Villebeuvre's letter, forwarded by Your Lordship on the 29th of last November, informs me that the man named Malfry had just arrived from Cumberland with two Chickasaws about the middle of November. He has reported that fifteen hundred men have been detached from the general quarters of Washington to proceed against the Cherokees, intending to attack them between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. Meanwhile, another numerous body, commanded by General Robertson, who told it personally to those two Chickasaws, went to station itself at the mouth of the Tennessee, or Cherokee, in order to cut off any communication with the savages of the north and all chance of retreat toward the Mississippi.

Your Lordship will understand at once that by this arrangement both bodies could quickly unite, and going down to Muscle Shoals or the Margot River, could establish themselves. From there to

<sup>71</sup> BL.

Nogales would be no more than a short step for them, since they would be masters of the source of the Yazoo, as well as of the Tombigbee and Chickasaw rivers. You also know that, if three thousand men should go down the Yazoo against Nogales, they would soon be increased and their forces perhaps doubled in a few days with all those traders, hunters, and vagabonds who travel through the nations and forests without any other aid than their carbines. They are a hardy people who live on a little maize. A part even of those who are in our districts of Natchez, Tombecbé, Mobile, Tensaw, and on the other side of the river in Ouachita, New Madrid, Opelousas, Attacapa, Natchitoches, and Arkansas are all people who have nothing to lose. They also would join in the expectation of establishing themselves in the beautiful and fertile territory of Nogales, or perhaps of sacking this capital later.

It is necessary, then, to obstruct these encroachments as far as the small means furnished us by the province permits. We cannot accomplish it by active force. For with only 1400 regular troops we have to cover some seven hundred leagues, which extend from San Marcos de Apalache, where we are at the same time in danger of being attacked, to St. Louis in Ylinoa. For us to remain waiting would be to lend arms to the Americans against ourselves, and to aid them indirectly in their projects. The kingdom and Havana scarcely have sufficient means for their own defense. From Europe we can expect little or nothing in the present state of political affairs. Consequently there is no recourse left us except on the part of the Indian nations, who can interpose forces capable of restraining the Americans if we can succeed in uniting them into a defensive federation, according to the plan which I have already communicated to you. The Chickasaw nation, although it is the most reduced, is the one which gives me the most uneasiness, for it will always draw along the Choctaws with it. The king of the former agrees with my ideas, but the party of Payemingo has been strengthened and increased considerably since his last trip to Cumberland, the greater part of his warriors having been won over through the large presents given to them by the Americans. It is necessary, then, to win over Payemingo, and even Ugulayacabe, at any price, and to persuade both of them to come down as soon as possible to this capital. With this object you will despatch immediately a special courier with the accompanying message. If I succeed in persuading the Chickasaws to aid the Cherokees, I answer for the pledging of the Choctaws. In the meantime, McGillivray goes to despatch numerous parties to Cumberland to sustain the Cherokees. He will accomplish this all the more easily because the country which the Americans wish to occupy is common hunting ground for these nations. The difficulty



consists in being able to pass arms and ammunition secretly to the Cherokees.

I see only one way to do this, which would serve at the same time to drive away the Americans from the bank of the Mississippi. You know that the Chickasaws have petitioned me to permit Turnbull to place a trading establishment on the Yazoo, and that the king of that nation was so annoyed by my objection that he threatened to go over to the Americans and leave my table; consequently I was forced to grant permission to Turnbull to place a trading house on the Mobile. If we can induce him to place one on the Margot River, the territory of which belongs to the Chickasaws, it will be very easy to make use of it to furnish arms and ammunition to the Cherokees in the guise of a present, and take away from the Americans the means of establishing themselves in the same place, as they have planned. The Chickasaws will consent to the raising of a small fort by us to protect Turnbull's storehouse, provided that he should ask for it; and we shall make him ask for it in return for some privilege in his commerce or some presents. If the Americans try to eject us from that place, to which they have no more right than we, the Chickasaws will oppose them because Turnbull has children in that nation; and we shall in that way unite all the nations against them.

I am waiting for Turnbull in order to sound him out. Your Lordship shall negotiate with Payemingo to induce him to come down. Try to prevent all disagreements with the Creeks, and between them and the Choctaws. It will be well to punish the two traders who fired on the Creeks who were carrying off the wife of McFarlan, partly to pacify the nation, who have the idea that the Choctaws were the ones who fired on them, and partly because, if they had killed one of the latter, an irremediable war would have been lighted up between those subjects of the king and the Creek nation. Don Juan de Villebeuvre tells me that both traders, although naturalized Spaniards, are strongly American by inclination, so that they would have been very glad to cause a war which would have entirely finished the district of Natchez.

I have learned that Governor Blount told Payemingo that he would send corn to him and his nation at the *Ecors* of the Margot River, for the reason that he had been informed that the crop in the nation had entirely failed. It will be advisable for us to avail ourselves of the same arms by sending corn to them at the same place by the galleys; but it is very scarce in the whole province except in Your Lordship's district. Consequently, it will be a good thing in every way for Your Lordship to try to collect a considerable portion at all events; especially since the Choctaws and the Creeks are in the same situation. Since the last named have been informed by

Seagrove, the commissioner of the United States (who is still at St. Marys), that he intended to provide corn for the nation, if it would be able to send to St. Marys for it, we should do the same at Pensacola and Apalache; but if the captain general does not send it from Havana we cannot obtain it either here or in Mobile.

Your Lordship must maintain the greatest vigilance, particularly in regard to Nogales, against which fort I fear greatly some surprise by the river or some attack by land in the coming spring.

If the Cherokee nation is despoiled of its lands, it will be very desirable to persuade them to establish themselves on the other bank of the Mississippi, between Arkansas and New Madrid, where there is no lack of uninhabited lands abounding in game. It would serve as a barrier against the Americans who might attempt to cross the river, and would cover Arkansas and Attacapas from the forays of the Osages, who are already advancing toward Natchitoches and damaging greatly our establishments of Ylinoa. The Cherokees would preserve always an implacable hatred against the Americans, and in case the latter should descend against the establishments of the King they would disturb them greatly in their communications and navigation. If Bloody Fellow is still in Natchez, it will be well for you to inform him of what is being planned against his nation; and of this retreat, or asylum, which we offer him in case of disaster; and, finally, Your Lordship will furnish him with the means of returning promptly to his nation, either by way of the river as far as Nogales, or by land, giving him the arms and munitions that he may ask for, and agreeing upon the place where his people may go to receive those that they need even though it may be secretly.

I have been informed that above Nogales there are more than forty American houses established on the bank of the Mississippi, and that many other Americans are gathering to settle in the same neighborhood. It is necessary to verify this report, and if it should turn out to be true, to eject them from there, as the Creeks have done above Tombecbé, by means of some Choctaw chief, who will be secretly rewarded. What does it matter to us by what means they establish themselves? Once settled and united in a place bordering on our frontier it would be impossible to eject them, and in a little while they would succeed in forming a state which would drive out the Indians, as has been done with the Cherokees in all their lands.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 18, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

Señor DON MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

## CARONDELET TO TRUDEAU

*December 22, 1792*<sup>72</sup>

I have read with attention the message which you have sent me from the Loups, Miamis, Ottawas, Potawatomis, Peorias, and Shawnees, and, having thoroughly examined all the antecedents, I have determined that you shall prohibit all and whatsoever trade there is with the Great and Little Osages, under penalty of three hundred pesos fine, or, in case of insolence, the offender to be sent as a prisoner to this capital.

At the same time you will proclaim that any subject of His Majesty, or individual of the other nations, white or red, may overrun the Great and Little Osages, kill them and destroy their families, as they are disturbers of the prosperity of all the nations.

Let a similar order be passed to the post of Arkansas and to the other posts in this province.

The measure which you propose will be advantageous, that is, to send secretly in advance to the other nations of the Missouri merchandise for two years, avoiding in this manner their interception by the Osages.

It is extremely important to humiliate or destroy those barbarians which can only be done by using severity.

May God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 22, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

Señor DON ZENON TRUDEAU.

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*(Attached to the foregoing)*

Try to send me some lead in ingots and ball. The royal magazines are short of both.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 22, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET

Señor DON ZENON TRUDEAU

## CARONDELET TO TRUDEAU

*December 22, 1792*<sup>73</sup>

*Confidential*

*Answered.*

Whenever the commandant of New Madrid shall find himself exposed to an attack from the Americans, you will use the Indian nations to march to his defense, and you are to remit to him such

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<sup>72</sup> BL.

<sup>73</sup> BL.

aid in gunpowder and bullets as he may solicit, taking both from the inhabitants or buying the gunpowder from the English, so that you may not find yourself unprepared in case of an attack.

I have forwarded the order to the commandant of the militia of Ste. Geneviève to march to the aid of New Madrid should it be threatened by the Americans. In case, as is very apparent, there should be a war with them, if you are in a position of having to sustain a siege, you will endeavor to get together the militia of San Fernando and place them under the orders of Mr. Blanchete; and the militia of Fleurissant under orders of Mr. Beazonier, to whom I shall forward by the first boat commissions of captain and commandant of those towns, informing them that from the day they go on active duty up to the day when they return to their homes, they are to receive compensation and salary on the same terms as is paid to veteran troops. You are to make equal provision for the militia of St. Louis. For this expenditure you are to draw against this royal treasury.

I strongly suspect the intentions of the American army; therefore, let anticipatory preparations be made to repulse them, but without any appearance of hostile intentions. In case they draw near, avail yourself of the means which the country affords, the savages and the English, in order to put up a resistance, or at least maintain the honor and credit of our arms in case it becomes necessary to yield to insurmountable strength.

You will endeavor to forward me lead in bulk and bullets, because the warehouses of the King are short of both of these.

May God preserve you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 22, 1792.*

THE BARON OF CARONDELET (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ZENON TRUDEAU.

CARONDELET TO TRUDEAU

*December 29, 1792<sup>74</sup>*

In official letter No. 33, you inform me that the trader Jacques D'Eglise has ventured to penetrate in his hunting more than eight hundred leagues up the Missouri. There he found eight villages of the nation known under the name of Mandan, who trade with the English, and it seems also with the Spaniards, or nations adjacent to them. I have read all this, and I would appreciate it very much if you would procure the most extensive information available, giving in detail the nations that join with or border upon those

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<sup>74</sup> BL.

settlements, the places where they live, their rivers, commerce, the nations with whom they trade, the number of people in the nation if possible, and also their products. You may send this information to me in installments or all together, as soon as may be possible for you.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 29, 1792.*

BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ZENON TRUDEAU

PEARIS TO O'NEILL

*January 15, 1793*<sup>75</sup>

ESTANAULA *Jan<sup>y</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup>. 1793*

*May it Please Your Excellency:*

SIR: It has given me great pleasure to hear your talks to our distressed and Injured Nation it seems as you took Pity on them Mr. Panton can Inform you how Sincerely I was Attached to the British and how Bravely I fought in their Cause my wishes are Still the same towards the British and from the friendship of the Spaniards in giving our people Arms & Powder I consider them as acting in the place of the British.—I wish you would write me fully what part you wish our Nation to act and if you will send me a Commission as high as that I held in the British Mr. Panton can tell you how far I can be depended upon You may rely that my Interest is as Ever it was—the U.S. pretend they love our Nation but still Keep takeing our land and will not move their people off—Your people and ours can Easily take cumberland. that is your land and you ought to have it and the United States oppress us in our trade and we know how well you can supply us and not stint us in Arms and Ammunition for fear we should fight you

I send the Bearer to carry this letter to you and by him I shall Expect your answer Our Nation at present appear divided some for the Americans and some for the Spaniards but You may depend it is pretence Only towards the Americans and a good answer to me which I can show to the Head Men in this Quarter would Settle Whole Openly in your favour let us know fully what part you wish us to act

Write in English I don't Understand Spanish.

I am Your Humble Svrt

GEORGE PEARIS

His Excellency Govenor ONEAL  
Pensicola

<sup>75</sup> BL, (English).

NORTHERN INDIANS TO TRUDEAU <sup>76</sup>

*To Mr. Don Trudeau, Lieutenant Governor at Saint Louis.*

MY FATHER: We, your children, the Loups, Miamis, Ottawas, Potawatomis, Peorias, and Shawnees, beg you to listen to our words today.

In the past, we used to be with our first father, the Frenchman, whom we always recognized as our real father during the time we were under his domination, and whom we have had the misfortune to lose. However, upon leaving us, he gave us proof that he was a good father by saying to us: "My children, you see the misfortune which is happening to me in losing the country, and you, my children. But I leave you one recourse, which is to go and join your father the Spaniard, who is your father, as I have been yours. Follow my advice; go to him and you will be well received, because I and the Spaniard are allies, and consequently he is your father like myself."

We followed this good advice, but we delayed a few years, upon the pleas of the English who were telling us to stay quietly on our lands, and that they would uphold us and be our fathers. We remained as a result of those offers, but have always looked upon the Englishman as a borrowed father, seeing that he made no alliance with our first father, the Frenchman, nor with our Spanish father. We have perceived that his offers were motivated by the needs he had of us, so that, instead of aiding us and saving our lands, he is letting us lose them, as well as several of our village and war chiefs and a number of our young men who have been killed. We noticed our losses too late. The desire to retain the lands where we were born and where the bones of our fathers rest, had forced this delay in following the advice of our first father. The Americans have also fooled us with peace treaties which have been neither stable nor sincere on their part, since they usually resumed the war immediately.

We therefore believe, my father, that you are good; we are even sure of it, since you receive us with an open heart and extend to us your benificent hands. We are coming then to lock ourselves in your bosom; receive us like your own children.

When we arrived upon your lands, our father (Mr. Cruzat) received us with open arms, saying to us: "My children, hunt and sow in order to feed and clothe your families; settle on my lands and remain at peace with all the nations that are my children; do not disturb them and do not get mixed up in bad transactions. If someone comes to trouble you, complain to me and I shall give you justice." We hunted peacefully to sustain our families without disturbing anybody all the time that our father (Mr. Cruzat) remained here. He treated us like his real children. We never have had to

<sup>76</sup>BL, (French).

complain to him for nobody disturbed us; but as soon as he had left us and our father (Mr. Perez) had taken his place, we were assaulted on all sides by the Osages who murdered us, stole our horses, and we remembered what our father (Mr. Cruzat) has said about coming to complain to him.

Last year, when our father (Mr. Perez) sent for us in connection with the unfortunate business which happened in St. Louis, we complained to him. He said to us, upon decorating our chief with a medal, that it was an image of our father (the King), and that the flag that he was giving us was to clean and chase away the foul air which might arise on our path; and he also said that he would send no merchandise to the Osages, that he would summon them and that he would let us know when they were at his house, in order to speak to them in our presence. Those are the things he told us before several Frenchmen, our fathers, who had accompanied us.

All the promises which our father (Mr. Perez) made to us have not been fulfilled. The roads which he claimed would be white, are strewn with our bones; the Osages have come to him, and he has not warned us of it; on the contrary, their arrival was hidden from us and we did not get the satisfaction of talking to them. You see, my father, that we have not been the aggressors as regards the Osages. We have not sought revenge for all the bad they have done to us without cause. We come to you, my father, to accomplish it, and we ask you to restrain them and prevent them from killing our horses which are our sole resource for the maintenance of our families. Examine carefully our sad situation, my father, and render us the right and justice which is due us. May the Master of Life grant you happy days and endow you with a watchful eye to watch over the conduct and the happiness of your children, the Loups, Miamis, Ottawas, Potawatomis, Shawnees, and Peorias.

LOG OF HIS MAJESTY'S GALIOT, *La Fleche*

*January 5 to March 25, 1793.*<sup>77</sup>

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1793.

At two o'clock in the afternoon I received the order from Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of the post of Natchez, to embark on a secret expedition on the galiot of war, *La Fleche*, armed with eight bronze swivel guns, and with a crew of eighteen men, and three soldiers of the regiment of Louisiana. I intrusted the command of my squadron to Mr. Gayoso who took charge of it. At 3 o'clock in the morning I received a sealed packet which Mr. Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez, delivered to me with the

<sup>77</sup> BL, (French).

order to sail. At four o'clock, I set sail and passed the night one league from Natchez.<sup>78</sup>

SUNDAY, JANUARY 6, 1793.

Set sail at 6 o'clock in the morning. At five o'clock in the evening encamped 5 leagues from Natchez. There came alongside a canoe from the galleys which brought me two sacks of biscuit and a letter from the governor of Natchez.

MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning set sail, the weather very cold; at 5 o'clock at night encamped 10 leagues from Natchez.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning set sail, against high head winds; at 5 o'clock at night encamped one league below the Bayou aux Pierres. Traveled six leagues.

[WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1793.]

At 6 o'clock in the morning set sail against a head wind. At 8 o'clock across from the Bayou aux Pierres a barge and a pirogue came alongside. They came from Illinois, and their proprietor was named Cerré. He told me nothing new, that all was very peaceful up above, that he was going to New Orleans loaded with furs. At the same hour there came alongside two pirogues which had just come from Arkansas loaded with furs and salt belonging to Mr. Menard, who was aboard and who was going to New Orleans. At 5 o'clock encamped half a league above the Grand Gulf.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning started out, rowing. The wind ahead had almost died down. At 5 o'clock at night encamped below three islands. Made five leagues and a half. The weather was very cold and foggy.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 11, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning set out, the weather calm. At 9 o'clock in the morning a stump under the water hit our rudder and broke the iron-work. At five o'clock encamped at the base of Nogales Island. Made six leagues and a half in three hours.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1793.

Started at 6 o'clock in the morning with a little favorable wind. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the commandant of Nogales, Don Elie Beauregard, and the guard of the magazine of said post came alongside in a canoe. At 4 o'clock stopped before the Fort of Nogales. I immediately sent an official letter to the commandant to have him make for me an iron binding for the rudder and have him give me 100 cartridges of musket shot and 6 pounds of ball and a packet of cord, which we had forgotten on embarking from Natchez,

<sup>78</sup> This log was kept by Captain Pedro Rousseau.



and two ox hides to put over the load because the water ran through the tarpaulins. All of these things I received from him.

MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 1793.

At 10 o'clock in the morning the iron binding for my rudder was ready and put in place to set sail. As I was going to leave, a barge arrived. I went on board to visit it and to find out whence it came. They told me that they had just come from Fort Pitt, that its owners were on board, that their names were William Moore and Robert Scott. It appeared to me to be laden with merchandise. The weather so bad that I was not able to start.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1793.

The wind so strong from the direction of the north that I could not set sail. I observed the latitude of the Fort of Nogales as 32 degrees 14 minutes north. At ten o'clock at night I observed the longitude of said place as 95 degrees 20 minutes from the London meridian.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1793.

The wind having calmed, I traveled from 7 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock at night when I encamped one half league from the River of the Yazoos. The weather is fair; made four leagues.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1793.

Set sail at 6 o'clock in the morning, the weather calm. At 10 o'clock in the morning passed a large island on the west side; passed between the land and said island; at 3 o'clock in the afternoon passed a small and a large island near the same bank. Encamped at 5 o'clock; traveled five and a half leagues. The weather fair, probability of rain.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning set sail, the wind favorable; at half past 10 in the morning passed four islands on the east side. Scarcely any water flowed between the land and the said islands. The shallows extended to great width and went nearly to the middle of the river which greatly lengthened our course.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning started off, the weather calm. At 8 o'clock passed several islands near the west bank, made the great turn; at 4 o'clock in the afternoon passed three islands; at 5 o'clock encamped above the three islands.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 20, 1793.

Set out at 6 o'clock in the morning, the wind favorable, set the sail. At 1 o'clock passed a little island in the middle of the river; at 5 o'clock at night encamped on the island called Death's Head. Made 8 leagues, the weather fair, but very cold.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning set sail, the wind ahead. At 9 o'clock the wind was so strong that it obliged me to encamp until the morrow on an island near the west bank at one league from Death's Head. The weather was very cold and the current very swift.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning began to travel, sailing, the wind good and fresh. At 5 o'clock in the evening encamped at the foot of the island of La Coupeé on the west side. The island is near the same shore. Went nine and a half leagues on this day's journey. The weather is fair, the currents very strong.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1793.

Set out at 6 o'clock in the morning; at noon put to shore for dinner. While we were on shore, there came from above by the west bank twenty-five Choctaws with their wives and children and fifteen horses laden with pelts; and two pirogues loaded with skins, manned by two Indian men and four women, came down by the river. There was among them a half-breed who spoke very good English. He told me that he had just been hunting on the west bank of the Mississippi and that he was returning to his village which was the one in which Mr. Delavillebeuvre resided, and that he had crossed the river yesterday in the morning. I asked him if he had seen anyone since he left his village. He replied that he had not seen any white men, that ten days ago he had met a party of fifteen Chickasaws with their women who were leaving their village, but that he had said nothing to them. He asked me to trade for their pelts. I replied that my boat was a royal vessel and that I traded with no one. He asked me for some tafia. I told him I did not have any. He asked me for a little bread and I gave them 24 sea biscuit and afterwards set sail and left them encamped at the same place. At 5 o'clock in the evening I encamped on the west bank, having passed twice by the east. Made five leagues and a half.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning set out, the wind ahead. Found a swift current and very extensive shallows. At noon put to shore to prepare dinner; at half past one saw 2 barges which were drifting. I motioned to them to come ashore. They came from the Belle Rivière to hunt. One was rowed by some Frenchmen who had a passport from Mr. Zenon Trudeau, commandant of St. Louis in Illinois. I gave them a letter for the governor of Natchez. The other was manned by some Americans from Kentucky who had left there three months ago and who were hunting on the Belle Rivière. They told me that the Cherokees and the Creeks attacked the post of Cumberland before their departure, killed several

persons, and burned several houses and withdrew, and that near Fort Washington they had attacked an American party, killing several soldiers, carrying off 60 horses and fleeing with what they had taken. Purchased 60 pounds of salted meat. Sailed; at 5 o'clock in the evening encamped. Made 6 leagues according to my reckoning.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25, 1793.

Began to travel at 6 o'clock in the morning. The wind being favorable, we put up the sail. At 10 o'clock we passed an island near the east bank; at noon saw a savage on the west bank, recognized him as an Arkansas; at 4 o'clock in the afternoon passed the *Isle aux Chicots*; hailed a barge which was manned by some Americans and which came from the Wabash loaded with salted meat; at the same hour saw a barge, which we did not recognize, pass on the other side of the island; at 5 o'clock in the evening encamped. Traveled six leagues.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning set out with the sails and the oars. At 9 o'clock saw a barge which was going down the river. I made it come alongside. It came from the Arkansas and its master was named Bougigue. On board were 4 men and equipment and Mr. Vaugine, Jr. with a passport from Mr. Delino, commandant of Arkansas. It was going to New Orleans laden with skins and salted meat. I gave him a letter for the governor of Natchez and I set sail. During the same hour I passed a superb cypress grove, one league below the three channels, 12 leagues from the Arkansas River. At noon passed the three channels. All the morning we had a little rain. At 5 o'clock in the evening camped on a point on the east side. At 7 o'clock an Arkansas savage came to our encampment with two women. He told us that he was encamped on the other bank of the river, that he was hunting, and that we were 6 points from the Arkansas River. Traveled six and a half leagues according to my reckoning.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 27, 1793.

At 6 o'clock resumed our journey, the wind good, set the sail. Passed between two islands near the west bank; at noon passed among six islands, found a strong current, did not land for dinner, but proceeded, the wind being favorable; at 3 o'clock passed an island on the east side; at 6 o'clock encamped across from the large *Isle au Bled* on the west side, at 2 leagues from the Arkansas River. There is the appearance of bad weather. Made seven leagues and a half.

MONDAY, JANUARY 28, 1793.

Started at 6 o'clock in the morning in a high wind, a very strong head wind. At noon we had gone only one league. We were

below the little *Isle au Bled*. As it appeared to us that there was some water, we wished to pass on the inside, but when we went to the outlet, we found scarcely any water. We were obliged to return to the foot of the island. The wind blew continuously from the north, strong and fresh. While we were at the upper end of the island, there passed two drifting barges and a pirogue which turned off and were out of sight when we reached the lower end of the island. At 5 o'clock in the evening encamped on the east shore at one league from the mouth of the Arkansas River. The wind was very strong from the north; the weather overcast and very cold with the probability of snow.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1793.

At 6 o'clock sailed, with the wind very high from the northeast, to reach the Arkansas River. At 9 o'clock entered the said river. My coxswain having pointed out that it was impossible to continue our voyage with the iron bindings of our rudder broken. For four days we had been holding them with cords. I therefore determined to stop at the Arkansas post to put my rudder in condition to continue my voyage. At noon the weather was so bad and the wind so high, with snow falling, that I was obliged to encamp half a league from the Arkansas River. All day the wind and the snow lasted. We were glad to be sheltered from the bad weather and the wind.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1793.

Remained in camp all day, the weather terrible, the snow continuously falling, there being two feet of snow on the ground. Northeast wind, very cold. At 4 o'clock the wind shifted northwards, very strong, everything frozen.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1793.

The weather remains very cold, the wind very strong from the northwest until noon when it calmed. I set out at once. Made 3 points on the river and at 5 o'clock encamped.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1793.

Resumed the journey at 6 o'clock in the morning, the weather continuing cold. By noon had made 6 points and arrived at the fork of the White River. Followed the Arkansas River; at 5 o'clock encamped. From the entrance of the river to the point there are 11 points. Made 6 points in the Arkansas River since noon. The river is very bad, full of stumps, and having a swift current and the shoals are very dangerous. The water is as red as in the River Rouge at the post of Natchitoches.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1793.

Began to travel at half past 6, the weather bad. It is raining. Two hours later arrived at the Arkansas post. I went ashore to ask the commandant if he had some blacksmiths. He replied

that he had an old Negro. I requested that he send for him immediately in order that he might take the measurements of the iron bindings of my rudder to make new ones and to mend the old ones also. The Negro came and took the measurements. All day it rained and was very cold.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1793.

The wind from the northwest blew a fresh gale and very cold. The Arkansas post is situated on the side of a hill which overlooks the Arkansas River. It may be 45 feet in height when the river is low, and when it is high, 6 feet. It forms a horseshoe which extends towards the north about half a league. Half a league north of the river there is a great prairie which follows the shore and extends to Illinois, as one of the inhabitants of the Arkansas told me. There are several inhabitants around the prairie who sow the wheat which I have seen. It is very beautiful.

The Arkansas fort is surrounded on all sides by a stockade of white oaks to shelter it from rifle-fire. It has one bastion on the east and another on the west, in which are mounted a cannon of four and two swivel guns. There are in the fort a house, headquarters, and a storehouse covered with shingles. Outside the fort there are thirty houses, with galleries around them, and covered with shingles. They form two streets below the fort.

There are a dozen quite pretty houses on plots of 4 by 4 arpents. There are some very good looking wheat fields on the high land. Below the high land all the surface is under water. The savages appear very docile and very attached to the Spaniards. There are three villages each ruled by its chief. The sun being favorable, I observed the latitude of the fort with the quadrant and it is 34 degrees and 6 minutes north.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1793.

The day broke badly with rain. At noon riveted the iron binding of my rudder, but it was not possible to travel because of the bad weather. I gave the smith who made the new bands for me and mended the old an order for 10 piastres on Don Francisco Arnoyo, *ministre intervenateur* of the town of Natchez. I was obliged to leave two of my sailors at the Arkansas post because of sickness and I gave them orders to meet me at the mouth of the White River, where there was a detachment of three soldiers to pick them up, when they had recovered. Took in their places a Canadian named Semit.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1793.

All day the rain fell. I could not sail. All the oats I had on board were found to be spoiled. I was obliged to buy half a barrel of them. Being at the disadvantage of not having any

at the post, they made me pay 3 piastres for half a barrel near the post.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1793.

The weather clearing up a little, I started out at 7 o'clock to descend the Arkansas River. At 10 o'clock rain began to fall so hard that I was obliged to encamp 6 points below the Arkansas. At 3 o'clock the rain ceased to fall. I set sail. At half past 5 I encamped at the fork of the two rivers. From the Arkansas post to the fork there are 13 points. The river is very bad, with many snags and little water when it is low.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1793.

Set sail at half past six in the branch of the White River. Made 3 points. Came down on the White River, turned off 3 points, entered the Mississippi. At the outlet of the White River there was an island where two soldiers and a corporal, detached from the Arkansas post, were stationed. At ten o'clock I was in the river and at noon I encamped on a point one league and a half from the White River to prepare dinner and for my company to dry their clothing which was all wet. As I was going to camp, a barge, which was descending, appeared. I had it put to shore. It came from New Madrid, with a passport from the commandant of said place, laden with pelts and salt going to New Orleans. Its master was named Pierre Chausson and he had a crew of three men. By the said barge I sent a letter to the governor of the town of Natchez. They told me that everything was very quiet up above, and that there was no sign of anything when they set out.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1793.

Set out at half past five in the morning, the wind good, put up the sail. Was under sail all day; passed four islands; at half past five encamped. Traveled ten leagues.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1793.

Resumed the journey at half past five, the wind ahead. At 11 there came alongside eleven pirogues filled with Chickasaw and Arkansas savages. They asked me to trade. I told them that the King's ships did not trade, and that they could see by my flag and pennant that I was not a trader. They asked me for some tafia. I told them that I had none. They followed me until noon when I landed to get dinner, asking me for some bread. I gave them three dozen sea biscuit and they were all very content.

This is the speech which a Chickasaw half-breed named Thomas, captain of the party, made to me, using very good English.

"My father, when we were at war this summer with the Osages we passed the Arkansas. The chief of the whites told us that

the great chief of New Orleans had closed all the roads and had forbidden the white men to carry goods into their villages. Ah! my father, were the Osages deserving of pity? It is we and these Arkansas whom you see here that are, and not the Osages. We have found them well clad in new blankets of Limbourg and wool and all with new guns. My father, they throw goods away in their villages. (Showing me an Osage woman that he had with him) you see, my father, this Osage woman. She tells the truth. She says that there arrived this summer at their village ten barges or pirogues from Illinois with many white men in them. She recognized the younger Choutaux, and the clerk, and the Negro of Mr. Labady, who were all there.

"Tell me, my father, whether the whites of Illinois are Spanish or our enemies, and if it is necessary to attack them when they carry the booty to Illinois, since you see they carry to our enemies wherewith to kill us. You see that they take guns, powder, and ball to the Osages and buy from them all this booty which they steal from the Spaniards and red men on the rivers and that they kill all the whites of Natchitoches and Arkansas and all the red men of this region who cannot hunt without being killed or plundered by the Osages. You see the Arkansas who cannot go hunting in the prairies without being murdered by the Osages. They are obliged like us to come to hunt deer on the Mississippi while the Osages make themselves masters of all the hunting country.

"The Osages, my father, are at war with all men, white and red. They steal the horses and kill all the white men they find. The white men of Illinois carry goods to them. Ah! my father, if the Osages only had their arrows and they were not given any goods, we would soon finish them. As for peace, we cannot hope for it with them. They have always deceived those with whom they have made it and will never have lasting peace. They have never given a good word to other men. Ah! my father, if the great chief of New Orleans had all those who carry goods to the Osages killed, there would be no one to carry it and a year later we could plan to attack their village when the corn is in milk, for at that time all the Osages are hunting. We could destroy all their corn and make their women and children prisoners as well as their old men. We could place ourselves on the roads by which they would return to their village and we could destroy them all, and those who escaped would die from hunger or would be killed by some other red men."

He sat down on the sand, made a circle and afterwards continued his speech: "My father, you see this circle which I have just made there? The Osages are in the center of it and are

surrounded by white and red men and we let them kill us and steal our horses and we leave them alone. If a red man of any other nation kills another, we demand his head and, if he steals a horse, he is punished by his chief. I pray you, my father, carry these words to your great chief so that he may stop the white men of Illinois from carrying goods to the Osages to kill us with. When we went to attack them, they killed two men whom we mourn still. You see, my father, it is we who are deserving of pity and not the Osages as the chief of the Arkansas had told us. You see all these women and children who are here. It is so that they will not die of hunger in the village, for we have raised scarcely any corn this year. We have lost nearly all our horses, which hinders us from going very far to hunt. We are forced to hunt deer on the Mississippi."

After he had ended his speech he asked me for a little gunpowder. I gave him six gun cartridges which I had on hand. As my company had finished dinner, I set out. They remained on land. On putting off they saluted me with seven musket shots. I replied to them with seven shots from the swivel guns. At half past five encamped on the point of an island on the east side. Made five leagues. One hour after we had camped the sentinel cried that some savages were coming. We prepared to receive them if they had evil intentions, but we saw that there were only eight and without arms. On arriving they gave me their hands. We recognized them as Chickasaws. One who spoke a little English told me that they were encamped on the other end of the island, that they saw our fire and came to see what it was. They asked for something to eat. I gave them six sea biscuit. They remained with us nearly an hour and after they shook hands with us they went away. Kept good watch all night, not trusting them. The weather was disagreeable.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1793.

At half past five in the morning set out, the wind ahead; at ten o'clock passed Hermitage Island; was obliged to encamp at 11 o'clock, not being able to travel because of the force of the wind; remained encamped all day. Traveled three leagues in the morning.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1793.

Started at half past five. The wind being favorable, put up the sail; landed at noon. At 4 o'clock in the evening passed a barge laden with salted meat which came from the Belle Rivière; at half past five encamped on the east bank. Traveled six leagues and a half. The weather overcast with rain and very cold.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1793.

Sleet fell all night. The wind very strong from the northeast



and growing very cold. Was not able to journey until noon when the wind calmed somewhat and the weather cleared a little fairer. While we were on land, a barge which was drifting on the river passed on the other side. At 3 o'clock passed around an island on the west side; at 5 o'clock encamped on the upper point of the island. Traveled three leagues.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1793.

At half past five resumed our journey, the wind calm and the weather very cold. At 10 o'clock passed the little meadow where there was an abandoned house. It seemed to me that maize had been grown. This meadow is on the west bank. It is not under water. It lies alongside the river for a quarter of a league and extends in the depth of the lands; at 11 o'clock passed the mouth of the St. Francis River. At the mouth there is an island which forms two entrances to the river. At five o'clock in the evening encamped three leagues away from the St. Francis River. The river rose two feet in twenty-four hours. The current is very strong. The river still carries ice, which makes it very cold for us.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1793.

At 5 o'clock in the morning started off sailing, the wind fresh and favorable. At 10 o'clock passed inside Great Council Island which shortened our route by 4 leagues. The said flat makes a great turn of five leagues when the river is quite shallow. At noon there passed a barge which drifted on the river. I called to the man in charge to land, but the current was so strong that it could not reach the shore. I did not go out to it because it would have made me lose headway. I asked him where he came from. He replied that he came from Kentucky, that he was laden with tobacco, and that the owner of the barge was named Brouyain. The river is still filled with much ice and driftwood. Encamped on the inner side of an island at half past five. Appearance of bad weather. Made 9 leagues. All night the weather very disagreeable with thunder and hail.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1793.

The weather continues bad. At 10 o'clock set out; at noon passed some rapids so strong that we were hardly able to pass with all the oars and the sail. The wind was very fresh. The whole barge shook. By 2 o'clock the weather became so bad that I was obliged to encamp in the shelter of an island. Traveled 3 leagues. By midnight the weather was severe because of the force of the wind and rain; and the earth was falling on the bank opposite to us.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1793.

All day the wind and rain very high, unable to travel. The

river rose 4 feet in scarcely 24 hours. The river still filled with ice and the temperature very cold.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1793.

We set out at 6 o'clock in the morning, the weather calm, still overcast; at 10 o'clock passed on the inside of an island near the west shore; at 3 o'clock passed on the inside of an island near the east bank; at half past five encamped on a point above the said island. Ice continually passed. Made five and a half leagues during the day. The weather overcast.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1793.

Set out at half past five in the morning with high winds ahead and fog; at 10 o'clock passed on the inside of an island on the east side. The river was filled with wood. At 5 o'clock encamped on the point of an island which is in the middle of the river. Made 4 leagues. There was rain and thunder all night. The river rose 2 feet.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1793.

The weather was terrible all day with rain and thunder. Remained encamped the entire day, being unable to travel. The river rose 2 feet in 24 hours. The current was very swift.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1793.

At half past five continued the route, the weather clearing up. Passed on the right side of the island where we encamped. At 8 o'clock saw the beginning of the Ecors à Margot below which there is a bayou, or little river. It flows through the land which separates the low land from the high. At 9 o'clock we were at the point of the island. At the left of the island there is another island. At the same hour saw three barges which were drifting. I called to them to land. They landed at the bluff. I went across to them. Two were coming from Cumberland, loaded with wheat, and the other was coming from Kentucky laden with salted meat. All three were going to New Orleans. Needing meat for my company, I bought from the barge master a hundred pounds of pork at 10 piastres, which satisfied him, and gave to him a letter for Monsieur the governor of Natchez. He told me that there was no news from above or from the United States of America. I continued my journey at 10 o'clock. The wind being favorable, I put up the sail. At 11 o'clock I was across the Ecors à Margot. At noon I had passed the Margot River which is the termination of said Ecors à Margot. At 1 o'clock the wind had calmed. I landed on an island to prepare dinner. Started on at 3 o'clock. Passed several islands. At half past five camped on an island in the middle of the river. The weather fine all night. Made 6 leagues.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1793.

Set out at half past five, the weather serene; passed several islands in the middle of the river; at noon, landed for dinner. Set out again at 2 o'clock. At half past five in the evening encamped above the Thousand Islands on the last island upon a point near the east bank. The place bears this name because of the number of islands located on a point of the eastern bank. Traveled 5 leagues during the day, the weather fine, the wind calm. In the evening caught a brill which two men could not carry because of its enormous size.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1793.

Got under way at half past five in the morning. The wind, a fresh gale, being favorable, I set the sail; at 10 passed several islands near the west bank; at noon landed for dinner. Resumed the journey at 2 o'clock; at 3 passed several islands on the west side; at half past five encamped at the foot of Devil's Island which bears this name because of the force of the current which is encountered there in passing it and the number of stumps present there. Made 6 leagues.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1793.

Set out at half past five in the morning. At half past nine doubled Devil's Island, fell to the leeward half a league from the second bluff which is very high and named the Écours à Prudhomme. A fresh gale began to blow up from the south. Put up the sail. At half past twelve we doubled the third bluff which is very high and the river there is very narrow. It is three leagues from the second bluff to the third. Did not land for dinner, the wind being good. At 4 o'clock passed a large island in the middle of the river. At half past five encamped above the fourth bluff, a distance of three leagues from the third, which one finds on the river after passing the Écours à Margot. The weather was overcast, with the appearance of rain and bad weather. We moored very securely in a bayou at the end of the fourth Écours. Made 9 leagues.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1793.

The weather was bad all night with rain. The rain continued all day with the wind very cool from the northeast. Unable to start, we remained encamped all day. The river rose 2 feet in 24 hours. The river was filled with swiftly-drifting obstructions. I went ashore despite the rain to see the land of the bluff. It is very level when one is three arpents inland and did not appear to me very good. The trees are under water, white and red oaks, hickory, and other wood which I do not know.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1793.**

The weather was disagreeable all night. Sleet and snow fell. The wind from the northwest is very high. It rained hard and thundered all day. It was not possible for us to travel; remained in camp.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1793.**

It rained all night and all day. It has not been possible for us to leave. Remained encamped. The river twice rose three feet in twenty-four hours. The day before one of my men asked me if he could go hunting to kill a deer and he has not yet reappeared. I sent two men into the woods to see if they could find him and fired several gunshots and shots from the swivel gun to see if he replied, but heard nothing. The men I sent returned and found neither him nor his tracks.

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1793.**

The weather has cleared. I again sent some men into the woods and fired several shots from the swivel guns, but he did not reply. At noon my company returned from the woods, telling me that they saw nothing. I left food enough for him for several days at the encampment, hung a handkerchief from a tree so that, in case he returned to the same encampment, he would go to an Indian encampment which we left 2 leagues below where we were. Set out at noon, with the wind ahead. I traveled three leagues. I saw three barges tied up to the west bank as the sun was setting. I crossed over and encamped with them. I found that they all belonged to Mr. Du Paw, loaded with tobacco and salted meat going to New Orleans. The proprietor had a passport from Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, governor general of this province. There were also several French families who were going down with him from Gallipolis in America. They came to settle in this province. I gave to Mr. Du Paw, proprietor of the barges, a letter for Monsieur the governor of Natchez in which was included a copy of the speech which the half-breed Chickasaw made to me. I asked the owner of the barge, if he saw a man on the bank of the river, to send for him and I told him that I had lost a man who went hunting. The two barges gave me no news. Traveled two leagues.

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1793.**

At six o'clock in the morning the barges cleared the shore and I set sail with the wind ahead in a fresh gale and very cold. Both banks of the river were frozen. At 10 o'clock the wind was so high that I was obliged to land, not being able to travel. At 4 o'clock the wind calmed a little. I set out and at 6 o'clock in the evening encamped on the second Canadian Island. Made 3 leagues.

FRIDAY, MARCH 1, 1793.

Left camp at 6 o'clock in the morning, the weather overcast, the wind calm, but looking like snow, being very cold. At noon prepared dinner at the mouth of the Bayone River on the west bank. Encamped at 6 o'clock above Canadian Islands which are seven in number. Came 6 leagues.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1793.

It rained all night until 8 o'clock when the sky cleared. I set out, the wind calm. At noon I landed to prepare dinner. While we were at dinner, a pirogue passed on the other side. The river was so wide that we were unable to speak to it. Set sail at 2 o'clock, with the weather serene; at 6 o'clock encamped on the west bank. Traveled 5 leagues; passed three islands on the same shore, passed on the inside.

SUNDAY, MARCH 3, 1793.

At 2 o'clock in the morning there was a terrible landslide. The trees fell on all sides, which obliged us to break camp and go half a league in the night. We moored to the land waiting for daylight. The Mississippi began to overflow everywhere. Started at half past five; passed two islands on the left side, landed at noon. The wind being favorable, we set sail; at half past six encamped in a little meadow 10 leagues from New Madrid. The land was very high and not under water. It might be 8 arpents in extent and the trees around are oaks. Since it was quite late when I arrived there, I could not see well. I left that for my return. Made 6 leagues. My company made a fire on the prairie in the morning upon leaving. In an instant it was all on fire.

MONDAY, MARCH 4, 1793.

Set out at 6 o'clock in the morning, the weather overcast, bad weather threatening. At noon the weather was very bad with much rain. I landed on the inside of an island and encamped on the east side. The rain fell all day. At 6 o'clock in the evening the wind shifted to the north in a fresh gale. Traveled 3 leagues in the morning. Found the current very swift.

TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1793.

Started at 6 o'clock in the morning, the wind ahead, very high, the weather clear. At 10 o'clock as we doubled the island on the west side, there passed in the cove two barges which were drifting, but they were too far away to speak to them. Encamped at half past six on an island on the west side. Traveled 4 leagues. The weather was fair, the wind calm.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6, 1793.

Resumed our journey at 6 o'clock, the weather fair, the wind good; at 8 o'clock saw the Fort of New Madrid at a distance of

one and a half leagues; at 10 o'clock moored before the said fort. I delivered to the commandant, Don Thomas Portell, the packet from the governor general of this province and those from the governor of the town of Natchez and apprised him of my mission. Delivered over the three soldiers who came to complete his garrison and who came on board at Natchez. Found at the wharf of said post a schooner of about 55 tons without mast which arrived from the Belle Rivière loaded with maize belonging to Doctor Water, an inhabitant of the said post, who was going to ship a mast in order to go down to New Orleans next April. There was an American barge laden with pelts coming from Cas in Illinois, having on board three French passengers who were going from the United States of America to New Orleans. The names of the three Frenchmen—the Chevalier de Luzière, from Alleghany County, Mr. Barthelemy Tardiveau of Kaskaskia, Illinois, Guy Bryan, merchant of Philadelphia, and Pierre Audrain of Fort Pitt, all in the states of America.

THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1793.

There was rain and sleet all day. The rain fell and froze as it fell. The weather very cold, the wind very high from the north-east. At 10 o'clock in the evening the snow fell hard.

FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1793.

The weather very gloomy, the wind very strong from the north-west. There were 6 inches of snow on the ground. At noon the weather had cleared. It continued clear all day, but very cold.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1793.

The weather fair and moderate. I unloaded the two guns of eight and all the implements of war, which I had for the post and which I brought to the commandant. At noon I observed the height of the sun. I found by my observation that the fort of New Madrid is in the latitude of 36 degrees 8 minutes north and its longitude is 93 degrees 15 minutes, having corrected the distance from the horizon. The barge from Kaskaskia has cleared port for New Orleans.

SUNDAY, MARCH 10, 1793.

The weather is overcast and rainy, the wind from the northeast in a fresh gale. The commandant reviewed the militia of his post which totals 130 infantrymen and 20 gunners. He gave recognition to a captain, a lieutenant, and a second lieutenant to whom I brought commissions from the governor general of this province, the Baron de Carondelet. The commandant and the captain of the militia told me that he still lacked many men who had not yet returned from trading, and that they were able to make up 180 men in this post. They are all French and German with the exception

of twenty Americans, English, and Irish. It rained all day, the weather very bad and very cold, the wind very high.

MONDAY, MARCH 11, 1793.

The weather quite fine, but very cold. At 10 o'clock in the morning the commandant sent for the Loup chiefs to talk to them about the barge which some men of their nation had destroyed at the Ecors à Margot. They replied that they would send them immediately, that they would deliver them to the said commandant, that he could do whatever he wished with them, but that surely they had taken them for some Americans, for they did not think that there was a man in their nation who wished to harm either the Spariards or the French, that every day they told their young men that we were all their brothers, and that they had no father but the King of Spain. They said also that their entire nation was going to come this summer to form a village on the Grand Prairie, 6 leagues distant from New Madrid, that they were in numbers between eight and nine hundred warriors and many women and children.

The same day I mounted a horse with the commandant to see the environs of New Madrid. At a quarter of a league from the fort there is a prairie which extends upwards to Illinois and downwards to the St. Francis River. The prairie is about one league wide in this place and extends to a very wide lake named Ste. Marie; and on the other side of the lake it is still prairie land. On leaving the fort and the site of the village of New Madrid where there are several houses built which are beginning to form streets, and entering the prairie one finds a little Cherokee village of three families and with them their chief named Lean Bear. On the edge of the prairie there are several inhabitants at 6 arpents distance from each other. The soil of the prairie is very good and black. It is necessary to dig 5 feet to find gravel. Wheat grows there very abundantly and corn, potatoes, and oats grow very well. The whole prairie is at present covered with strawberry plants. The whole prairie is covered with plum trees, apple trees, and other wild fruits of the country. The animals of the prairie are very fat. On the Lake Ste. Marie there is a superb cypress grove from where one is able to get much cypress for building, but the cypress is not used for making stakes for fences. The inhabitants surround their sown fields with posts of sassafras, oak, and white ash, but they do not last.

TUESDAY, MARCH 12, 1793.

The wind is from the northwest, the weather clear. The savage chiefs of the Shawnees, Loups, Cherokees, and Ottawas made known to me through the interpreter that they would like to go for a sail

with me on the Mississippi in the galiot *La Fleche*. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon they embarked with the commandant of New Madrid, Don Thomas Portell. I saluted them with seven shots from the swivel guns which appeared to please them immensely.

I went up one league above New Madrid and came down on the other side through the channel of the island which is opposite New Madrid and emerged a half a league below the fort of New Madrid. Beyond cannon range there is a large body of water where all sorts of craft may pass, but, as large as it is, when the river is low the channel is dried up. There are actually 30 feet of water in the said channel. Several lighters, barges, and conveyances have already passed which did not stop at New Madrid, because they entered into this channel without being seen, since its mouth is not seen from New Madrid, and when they are below they are already too far away and descend without anyone knowing where they come from or that they are at New Madrid. It will be very easy to obstruct this pass in the middle of the said island.

There is in the channel another little island where the passage on each side is not more than 30 or 40 feet wide which becomes actually dry when the river is low. I think one could easily obstruct this passage by planting the soil with willow trees and creepers at a certain distance from each other which would stop the driftwood and would in a short time form a considerable impediment which it would be impossible to pass even with pirogues. There is another higher short cut, but it is entirely obstructed by impediments and one cannot even pass with pirogues. This short cut comes out below the said island and enters a half a league higher. On the east bank opposite the point above the said island, there is another short cut which emerges 4 leagues up the river. We returned to New Madrid at 6 o'clock in the evening. I again saluted the savage chiefs with seven more shots from the swivel gun to prove to them the pleasure which they had given me by accompanying me on this sail in the ship of my great King.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1793.

The weather fair, I prepared to descend. At 10 o'clock in the morning, being at the house of the commandant, the chief of the Shawnees with the notables of his village came to talk with the said commandant. One who spoke good English addressed me and indicated that they would like to have among them one of those who knew how to speak Spanish in order not to be always deceived by white men who imposed upon them, never reporting to them things as they are nor the same words that their Spanish father said to them. He also said that at the time of the English there had been one of their nation who spoke and wrote English and, when the King of England wished to send them some message,



he wrote them and he who knew how to read English read it to the whole nation; and when they wished to send word to the King of England, he wrote it and so they knew the truth. But when the messages have to go through the lips of interpreters who often say to them what they wish and often do not report the same words that the chiefs say to their father, it prevents their father from knowing what their intentions are towards the Spaniards.

I replied to him that, if they wished to give me a young man on condition that I take him away to my great chief of New Orleans who would regard him as a son and have him taught how to speak our language and that afterwards he would return to their village, I would do it. They reflected a moment, and the oldest said to me "My brother, if you will not leave for three days, I shall go where the great chief was and the great chief and all the councillors, who were 16 leagues above at the mouth of the Belle Rivière, shall decide whether or not to send the young man and, if they do not decide to send him, I shall return in three days." He then requested me to wait these three days. I promised him and he left at once. The others remained at New Madrid awaiting his return.

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1793.

All day the weather has been quite fair, the wind cold. Nothing remarkable has happened. The celebrated fort of New Madrid is square with four bastions which are northeast and southwest. Two bastions are erected on the river with two cannon of six, one of four, and a swivel gun. The fort has a house within to accommodate the commandant. It is 50 feet long and 20 feet wide, with a gallery, 10 feet wide on three sides. There are quarters, 80 feet long by 20 feet wide in which there is a storehouse for the artillery supplies, a storehouse for provisions, 40 feet long and 20 feet wide, a powder magazine, 10 feet square, a hospital, 20 feet long by 12 feet wide, a dungeon, 16 feet long and 11 wide divided in two, a bakehouse, 15 feet long and 12 feet wide, a guardhouse, 16 feet long and 11 feet wide, and an outbuilding, 10 feet long and 5 wide. The fort is 2312 feet around, and is enclosed by posts five inches in thickness and by a moat 15 feet wide and 6 deep over which there is a bridge in front of the fort, 13 feet in width with two rails, and a parapet, enclosed by 2 inch posts. The fort is 250 feet from the Mississippi. The land has been under water much of the time since the fort has been built, but they tell me that the river has not overflowed for some time.

FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1793.

The weather very bad with rain, the wind blowing a fresh gale from the south. At 10 o'clock in the morning a barge arrived from the post of Vincennes on the Wabash River. It told us nothing new. All was very peaceful at the headquarters of the Americans,

and the Americans were making every effort to make peace with the savages. These same men of the barge told us that they were not successful, and that the savages kill all the Americans they find on the Belle Rivière. They told us that the Americans had resolved to march against the savages this summer, if they did not make peace with them. They do not seem to fear them and are preparing to receive them.

SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1793.

The weather is bad with a great deal of rain, the wind very high from south. I took my provisions on board and prepared to depart when the savages should arrive. The same weather continued all day, much rain.

SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1793.

The weather rainy and wind from the south, a fresh gale. Expecting the savages any minute, prepared to set out adrift for Natchez. At noon the weather very bad, with rain and hail. At midnight the wind shifted to the north, very cool, and snow fell until Monday morning.

MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1793.

Very strong wind from the north. The weather has cleared; still expecting the savages and determined to start tomorrow, if they do not arrive, because they promised to return last Saturday; and it seems to us that they have decided not to send the young man of whom they spoke, but in order to show them that I trust them I have remained three days longer than I promised to wait, being ready to leave.

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1793.

The day fair, the wind southward, a little cool. Seeing that the savages had not arrived, I sent for the interpreter to find out what was keeping them. He replied that they had, perhaps, gone farther to hunt and that they would be several days yet returning. As the water was high they would not come immediately. Therefore I decided to depart and arranged with Don Thomas Portell, commandant of said post, that if they were of the same mind, they should come to New Orleans. Immediately, I fired a shot from the swivel gun and called my company. I took leave of the commandant. He intrusted me with a packet for the governor general and one for the governor of Natchez. He also entrusted me with Medard Mitchel, an American, to take to the governor general and with a map of the waters of the Mississippi by the said Medard Mitchel. I left at half past eight. At noon I arrived at Little Prairie. When I went on land I found that the shore was still two and a half feet higher than the water. The land extends high half a league above and a league below. A pretty settlement could be made there. At one league from the Prairie inland there

is a bayou which empties into the St. Francis River and goes upwards nearly to New Madrid. The lands on the other side of the bayou are all hillocks and are never under water, so one of the hunters of New Madrid told me who is there every day. One could establish a beautiful settlement there. It is very close to the Arkansas. Cleared the shore at 2 o'clock; noted all the points and islands in order to make a map of the river; at 7 o'clock in the evening moored on one of the Canadian Islands, not finding any land as all the land has been flooded since we left the little prairie. Traveled 23 leagues during the day.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1793.

Set out at 5 o'clock in the morning. At 9 o'clock passed the Ecors à Farine. Landed at the place where we lost the man to see whether he did not return. We did not find the sea biscuit we left in a handkerchief in the tree which makes me think that he returned and may have made a *cageux* or that he may have been taken by the small boats which descend the river. At 11 o'clock we passed the Ecors à Prudhomme; at noon passed in the center, noticing always the points and islands and their distances; at 7 o'clock in the evening moored to some willows, not being able to find any shore. All the land of both banks is inundated. I have only seen land at the Ecors. Traveled 24 leagues today. The wind southwards, a little cool. The weather fair.

THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1793.

Started at 5 o'clock in the morning; at 7 o'clock landed at the mouth of the river of the Ecors à Margot. I went on land immediately with six men to hunt. I found near the mouth of the River à Margot a wonderful place to make a fortification. The land had an elevation of 50 feet and was not flooded. There is a little flat below which protects the mouth of the river and extends above and below along the Mississippi. There are two immense trees on one of which is written Jaime a Kin, April 9, 1791, and on the other Tomas, April 9, 1791. I surveyed the land for a league around. One can see little more than beautiful lands in some places consisting of little hills and in others, all flat. On the river there are many cypress trees for building. Plums, hazel nuts, and chestnut trees are very common. There are many ash trees, a number of oaks, walnut trees, sassafras, and many other trees. There are many springs in the interior. The land seemed to me to be very good. I went on board again at half past ten. I set sail immediately. At 11 o'clock passed the river, below the Ecors à Margot, which is found at the entrance of the Ecors. It is very navigable and by it one can go to the other river in a very short time. At 4 o'clock passed Council Shoals. At half past six passed the St. Francis River. All the land submerged since we left the Ecors à Margot. We did not

find any land only the little prairie a league below the St. Francis River where we camped. The land was still three feet higher than the river from which it appeared to me that it was never submerged. Made 35 leagues in the day.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1793.

Sailed at 5 o'clock in the morning, the wind at the prow, a fresh gale. At 9 o'clock passed the Hermitage. At noon it began to rain. From the prairie to the White River the land of both banks was submerged. At 5 o'clock at night landed on an island at the mouth of the White River. Delivered to the sergeant of the Arkansas detachment the letters for his commandant which Don Thomas Portell, commandant of New Madrid, gave me. The said sergeant told me that a barge which was going down had found the man I lost at the Ecors and that the two I left ill at the Arkansas had departed with the same barge. Immediately, I put off from shore. At 7 o'clock I moored to some willows, not being able to find land to camp. Made 28 leagues.

SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1793.

Sailed at 5 o'clock in the morning; at 7 o'clock passed the mouth of the Arkansas River; at noon passed the 3 channels at 8 leagues from the Arkansas; at 2 o'clock passed the channels at twelve leagues; at 3 o'clock passed a superb cypress grove on the east bank; afterwards, passed land a league and a half long, very high, which was three feet above the water; landed to see if it was not inundated at high water. There were no marks visible on the trees to indicate that it was ever submerged. The reeds did not hinder me from penetrating inland. Immediately after starting on, I passed the Isle aux Chicots. Below the island on the east side there is a league of land which is not submerged. It is not nearly so high as the first. At 7 o'clock moored to some willows on the east side. Have not found any land except in the places mentioned. Made 27 leagues today. The wind still ahead and fresh. In the night the weather was terrible with wind and rain. The billows and the wind were so high that I was obliged to cross over to shelter myself from the wind and waves. Crossed at midnight; moored to some trees, no land.

SUNDAY, MARCH 24, 1793.

At 6 o'clock in the morning the wind was favorable and quite calm; at noon passed Death's Head Island. At 2 o'clock passed three islands on the west side; at 4 o'clock passed 4 islands on the east side; at 6 o'clock passed one large and one small island on the west side; at half past six passed 6 islands on the same side; at 7 o'clock landed on a ridge of land on the west bank, but all the land was submerged. The land which I passed was submerged on both sides all day. Traveled 38 leagues.

MONDAY, MARCH 25, 1793.

Sailed at 5 o'clock in the morning, the wind ahead; at 7 o'clock passed the land of a large island on the west side. On dry ground there is a league of land, which was not flooded, at 3 leagues from the Yazoo River; at seven o'clock passed the Yazoo River; at half past eight arrived at the Fort of Nogales. Not finding any letters from my chiefs, I set out for Natchez; observed all islands and points; at 7 o'clock in the evening passed the Grand Gulf; at 10 o'clock the small one. The moon was very clear which favored me for my observations. At midnight it became so very dark that I was obliged to moor to some willows until daylight when I set sail; at 6 o'clock in the morning moored at Natchez. I went immediately to the governor of the town to whom I rendered account of my mission and delivered the packets which the commandant of New Madrid, Don Thomas Portell, intrusted to me.

CARONDELET TO TRUDEAU

*January 23, 1793<sup>79</sup>*

With your report number 46, I have received the paper you included which is a copy of a letter written with the date of December 16 of the past year by a Frenchman from Kaskaskia in the American section, giving news of the attack of the Talapoosas and Cherokees on the Cumberland settlement.

The opinion of the inhabitants of that country that I am a party to this attack is false and lacks all foundation, despite the fact that it may be told to you from other sources, as I have heard it from various people. Moreover, I have seen a New York "Gazette" in which, contrary to all good faith, it has had the audacity (I do not believe through the government, but doubtless some one ill-disposed to our country), to state it as a fact and give it as certain.

Nevertheless, I can assure you and sustain in the face of the entire world that this evil report is the greatest of falsities and the most flagrant imposture. It is a pure invention of the Frenchman who was using my orders and letters to arouse the Indians. It is false. I say once more than I have not fomented nor even started any hostile movement on the part of the Indians against the United States. Convincing proofs to the contrary exist everywhere and make this evident.

It is known that the Americans have always tried to ruin the Indian nations, their neighbors, and they are trying by every means to allure the Talapoosas, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, without sparing expense, efforts, stratagem, or any artifice, subjugating them to

usurp their lands despite our alliance and close proximity with them, and for what purpose? It is as clear as the light of the middle of the day that their intentions are no others than to invade our commerce, extend their dominions, and, in proportion as they obtain superiority in these provinces, to establish their rule on a favorable opportunity.

Up to the present time, neither the United States nor any of the ill-intentioned inhabitants among them have obtained the success they have hoped for from their obscure designs and from their quiet and hidden machinations. The reason is, that the Indians, advised and enlightened by us, have seen that we do not wish their lands, that we mingle with them, that we receive and treat them kindly, and that we only try to induce them to conserve their territory and to defend it. They see that for this purpose all are joined together under the protection of Spain, and that beyond this the Spaniards do not commit any hostility against the Americans.

With this knowledge the Americans are changing their erroneous policy, trying to make us hated and trying to fool the public with the invention, supposition, and simulation of orders and writings that they impute to us and that only exist in their imagination. I hope however, that they will not accomplish their desire since everyone ought already to be assured by the frankness, humanity, and generosity of my conduct, which has never been false.

I charge you in your conversations to make use of all that I have just told you, and moreover to insist that they produce the originals and the world will be satisfied and give me the justice it owes me.

If contrary to all right they attack you, make use of the forces you have, since I do not doubt but that you will come out well, by relying upon your honor, the fitness of the arms, and by arousing the known valor of the inhabitants. In such a case, as I have already directed you, take advantage of the English and the Indians. Manage with prudence the gifts that I shall increase with some baubles and even, in case of extremity, buy some merchandise from the English, taking great care not to overburden the royal treasury because of the great expenses this province incurs. This will be a very simple matter for you because it seems to me that merchandise is cheaper there than in this capital. If this is not so, by no means purchase anything other than powder and ball. In case of necessity patronize Lorimier.

With these aids and with the few fortifications that must be finished now, do not have the least misgiving. Take it for granted that these establishments have already given proof of knowing how to defend themselves. I do not doubt but that you will know how to inspire in them great confidence with your impartial administration and tranquil disposition, painting for them finally the benefits

they secure under our own equitable government, the lack of taxes and the heavy burdens and vexations that are suffered in other places.

God keep you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 23, 1793.*

(By copy)

EL BARON DE CARONDELET

Señor DON ZENON TRUDEAU

LAS CASAS TO ALCUDIA

*February 1, 1793*<sup>80</sup>

No. 4.

*Most Excellent Sir.*

In letter of the 28th of last month I reported to Your Excellency that it appears manifest that the intention of Lord Dunmore, governor of Providence, or perhaps of the British ministry, is to establish a settlement on the coast of West Florida under the disguise or name of a village of Indians to which their vessels can go from those islands and other colonies.

In view of these antecedents I consider myself under the obligation of bringing to Your Excellency's attention that Tampa Bay lies abandoned on the west coast of the peninsula of Florida. Although not as adequate as the anchorages on the Apalache coast for commerce and intercourse with the Indians, it is so for other purposes no less important, for the reason that its situation affords, in time of war, a shelter for the enemy from which they could harass infinitely the navigation of vessels from Vera Cruz, Campeche, etc. passing through Tortuga Sound.

Fishing boats from this port, because the importation of codfish is prohibited here, frequent the said Tampa Bay, where they catch their fish, which they salt and bring for consumption in this city, especially during Lent, in place of the supply of codfish.

On these boats there never fail to come here some families of Indians of the nearby tribes, attracted by greed for the presents that by virtue of royal orders are given to them here.

Some of these Indians have urged me to have established for them at Tampa Bay a trading store like those in Pensacola and Apalache. Regarding this matter I wrote to Don William Panton, owner of these stores, who has the contract for the commerce with the Indian tribes. He has replied that for business reasons it is not advisable for him to make the necessary expenditures to maintain a store at a place with so little trade, on account of the small number of Indians in that vicinity; but that, if the govern-

<sup>80</sup> AGI, Estado, SD, leg. 14.

ment desires for some object to make a settlement there, he is, however, ready to put a store there in return for whatever commercial advantages may be afforded him.

The bay is worthy of attention. It is spacious, capable of taking vessels of considerable tonnage, has more than twenty feet of water at its entrance, much more in the interior, and an abundance of drinking water. This is according to the reports of our fishermen, but more exact ones will be found in the secretariat of marine, where there were sent those made by Captain of Frigate Don Miguel Sapiain, who went on a frigate to make a reconnaissance of that bay during the administration of Don Josef Solano in this high court of admiralty, and, as I have heard, by virtue of His Majesty's order.

In case the King should resolve to make some settlement on that bay, it would be advisable, despite its having been requested by some Indians of the Uchi tribe, to discuss it carefully first, through the governor of Louisiana with the principal chiefs of the Creeks, of whom the Uchis are a part. The reason is that, although the land indubitably belongs to His Majesty (*In the margin*: Document No. 5 from my office to the Secretary of State, dated April 21, 1792.), it is to be believed that the Indians who have never seen it, and never possessed it, will think they have rights to it, and will ask for some compensation, which, although inconsiderable in amount, might be a bad example.

If the scattering of military forces by dividing them among separate and distant points is pernicious, on account of weakening them, the example of the events at the Bay of Nootka and their results show that it might also be inadvisable to leave abandoned without the least sign of possession on a deserted coast a bay which in alien hands might be quite prejudicial to us, and which, on account of the consequences, should be considered a post of importance.

In case it should be so considered, and the King should desire to place there some settlement to maintain possession, I bring this to Your Excellency's attention for the information of His Majesty.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

HAVANA, February 1, 1793.

LUIS DE LAS CASAS (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DUQUE DE ALCUDIA.



## CARONDELET TO LAS CASAS

*February 15, 1793*<sup>81</sup>

Copy. No. 67.

Confidential.

*Most Excellent Señor.*

As a result of a letter written by a certain Girod, a citizen of this city, but residing at present in yours, I am greatly concerned. He reports the news, doubtless apocryphal, of the cession of Louisiana to France in exchange for the French part of the island of Santo Domingo. The minds of these people, already excited by the news brought by some vessels of the great advantages secured by the Republic, have been disturbed. Moreover, a revenue guard assured me that some of the French had talked of surprising the redoubt of San Carlos by night, and of hoisting the national flag, which would certainly cause an insurrection.

I have also learned that some thirty individuals, partisans of the French revolution, had assembled to enjoy a dinner, and that at this, after having toasted the victories and progress of the French arms, they drank to the reunion of Louisiana with France.

An officer of the regiment of Louisiana advised me positively that at a party held behind closed doors, at which a certain Bujac was present, the guests cut up a ribbon of the colors of the French federation and distributed it, each one placing a piece in the button-hole of his coat.

Finally, I was informed that a certain Sauve, a merchant established here, and one of the richest, had received some barrels of wine that had been sent to him from Bordeaux by his friends to be drunk with the good patriots.

Convinced of the rapidity with which the new ideas of equality and independence are spreading, which, if not stopped immediately, will cause a general insurrection and the loss of the province, I decided to publish a proclamation, a copy of which I enclose. At the same time I also ordered the arrest of this Frenchman, Bujac, who is the most fanatical of all the partisans of the revolution. He was always on the lookout for the most dangerous news and went about spreading it in the most public places, talking with the greatest brazenness against monarchical government. He did this despite the prohibitions repeated several times by the government on this matter, and the example I made some months ago of three French trouble-makers, whom I expelled from the colony, which was enough to restrain the others up to the time mentioned.

I know all those who are fomenting sedition in this city. Their

<sup>81</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 14.

number does not exceed some ten individuals, all merchants, who came from France some years ago to engage in trade. Two of them are men of astute minds, and the wealthiest in the capital. I was wondering whether it would not be more advisable to arrest them all suddenly and send them to Your Excellency, so that, holding them incommunicado in El Morro, not only would they serve as a warning to the rest but also, without their assistance, those who are trying to inflame the colony from France will not be able to pursue their secret plots for some time. I was convinced that the creoles would not take their part. Even though they feel an inclination toward France, their former fatherland, I did not consider them yet sufficiently instructed in the new ideas to take so daring a step. I was, therefore, not deterred by any fear of sedition on their part. However I was deterred by the fear that they would afterwards ask me for some judicial proofs, difficult and perhaps impossible to obtain under such circumstances, on account of the dangers to which those, who would testify, fear to expose themselves, in case there should be an uprising in the province, or should it be returned to France, according to the almost general idea or hope prevailing at the present time.

Torn between these and other doubts, I have taken the most tactful course of sending to Your Excellency only the aforesaid Bujac. Public opinion and my conscience condemn him. If this is not enough. Your Excellency should set him free, because written proofs are not to be had at present; but the results of such benignity will be the insurrection of the province, which is being held by no more than a thread, and it will be very difficult to preserve it without an additional battalion.

I figure that, as his offense is so public and notorious, no one will accuse me of an excess of severity or of injustice in this city. The said Bujac should be kept secure in El Morro, without permitting him paper or ink, until affairs in France become settled, and the province emerges from the imminent peril in which anyone who has the least knowledge considers it to be. What has been found in his house consists only of a cap of the federation, the French constitution, hymns to liberty and other trifles that show his fanaticism.

It has also come to my notice that in the house of Don Pablo Segond, one of the merchants abovementioned, where Bujac was accustomed to go and even to write, there has been made a cap that they call Liberty, to whose health they drink. The individual who told this to one of the adjutants of the post will not testify to the fact for the reasons already explained. Furthermore he is not a man to whom entire credence can be given. I shall try to ascertain the truth of everything, and report the results to Your Excellency, sending the cap that was found in Bujac's house. Among all these fanatics I

consider the said Second the most dangerous, not only on account of his acquaintances and fortune, but also his taciturn and acrimonious spirit. As this last characteristic has made him disliked by the other merchants, I am convinced that none of them will regret his expulsion from the province.

It seems to me that it will be very advisable for Your Excellency to reprimand or punish the said Girod, who is to a great extent the cause of these things, on account of the imprudence with which he wrote the news abovementioned. I do not doubt that this is some machination on the part of some Frenchmen in Bordeaux who have relations with this province, and are seeking some means of inflaming it; but Your Excellency will be able to verify this easily by the testimony of that man.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 15, 1793.*

EL BARON DE CARONDELET

Most Excellent Señor DON LUIS DE LAS CASAS.

PROCLAMATION BY CARONDELET

*February 15, 1793*<sup>82</sup>

Don Francisco Luis Hector de Carondelet, Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Order of St. John, Colonel of the Royal Armies, Governor, Intendant General, Vice-Patron of the Provinces of Louisiana and West Florida and Inspector of their troops, etc.

Being informed that some discontented spirits, jealous of the tranquillity being enjoyed by these provinces (of which they are aliens), are endeavoring, for their own particular purposes, to spread rumors and statements with the sole object of disturbing the good understanding and harmony existing between Spain and France; and desiring to prevent the disturbances and fatal consequences that necessarily must result from the divergence of opinion between the inhabitants and aliens indicated, I have resolved to have published and observed the following articles:

1. It is absolutely prohibited to peruse or read aloud in public writings, printed matter or papers relating to the political affairs of France, whether pro or contra, under the penalty of the offenders' being transported to El Morro of Havana, where they will suffer the punishment of which their offense is considered deserving, according to the merit shown by the reports that will be submitted to the superior government.

2. Anyone who permits meetings, gatherings, or conversations of

<sup>82</sup> AGI, Estado, SD, leg. 14.

this nature to be held in his home, or who, not having been able to prevent same, does not report this to the government within the time of twenty-four hours, shall suffer the fine of two hundred pesos, applicable in the ordinary form, without prejudice to the penalty prescribed in the foregoing article.

3. In order that aliens and seamen arriving at this capital may not allege ignorance of this order, a certified copy shall be given to the commercial representatives so that all owners of vessels at present in the roadstead may inform their respective crews of its contents. Another similar one shall be sent to the commandant of the post of Plaquemine with the express order that it be read now and henceforth to all and every one of the crews of the vessels that enter the river, giving those who do not wish to conform thereto the choice of withdrawing.

4. Anyone who finds the observance of this order too rigorous may withdraw from the colony with all his effects to where he pleases, as the government does not care to admit or retain any subjects other than those who come to enjoy the peace, union, immunities, and advantages that form the basis of its prosperity, and which before long must make it the goal of other nations.

Given in NEW ORLEANS, *February 15, 1793.*

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

#### MESSAGE OF CARONDELET TO CHOCTAWS AND CHICKASAWS

[1793] <sup>83</sup>

*Chiefs and Warriors of the Choctaws and Chickasaws here assembled*

Open your ears and listen to the Great Emperor of Spain who speaks to you through my mouth:

My Children,

I have sent you a great chief to lead you in the right path, to defend you from your enemies, to give you wherewith to have abundant hunts; and he has loaded you with presents for a year, he has given you good advice, and he has told you that you should take all the red nations by the hand, to keep all the roads amongst yourselves white in order to make one strong, powerful family which, under his protection, should have nothing to fear from its enemies. It should prevent the roads from being reddened, the hearths of your brothers from being extinguished, and their wives from being ravished.

My Brothers,

The great King asks nothing of anybody. He loves the red men, and he wants them to be as free as the air which they breathe. He

<sup>83</sup> BL, (French).

wants them to hunt on all the hunting grounds that their fathers had. He desires that they multiply like the stars, and that they be his children for ever.

Chiefs and warriors of the Choctaws and Chickasaws,

Unite with the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Shawnees, grasp one another's hands tightly, renew the treaty which you have made at Mobile and at Pensacola in the year 1784, be faithful to your agreements with the Spaniards, and you will lack nothing, and you will be as happy as your fathers; but if you abandon my hand, if you shed blood on the roads between yourselves and the Creeks, if you do not mark my words, you will be hounded from your lands one after another, and all your fires will be put out. You will see your wives and your children killed or dying from hunger, and you will have to abandon the bones of your fathers to beg the Great King your father for lands beyond the river.

My Brothers,

May the Great Being always ward off these misfortunes from your heads; may he give you wisdom, and make you happy for ever.

[CARONDELET]

#### PROPOSALS FOR INDIAN CONGRESS

*February 26, 1793<sup>84</sup>*

##### *Points to be discussed in the Congress of Indians.*

*1st.* A confederation of the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations, purely defensive, under the protection of Spain, with the reciprocal guarantee of the possessions of the contracting parties.

*2nd.* The establishment of a permanent congress composed of three chiefs of each of the four nations in a place to be determined upon now, and the immediate nomination to be carried out in order that this congress, once organized, may immediately begin its functions. Its members will be elected each year by each nation before the winter hunting and ought to start to function at the time of the new corn and be maintained by the King who will pay for it or send that which I shall stipulate in the congress as necessary for its regular sustenance.

*3rd.* The congress will be advised by the commissioner of His Majesty who will be present at its meetings but will not have a vote.

*4th.* All the business belonging to the peace, good harmony, security, and guarantee of the possessions of the four nations will be decided by a plurality of votes in the said congress whose presidency will fall on one of the twelve deputies alternately and must pass each moon from one nation to another.

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<sup>84</sup> BL.

*5th.* The four nations will obligate themselves to execute and conform to the decision of the congress in all their differences, be it among themselves or with the white nations. The one which refuses to do so will be forced by the other three joining against that one and employing force, if it be necessary, to induce it to conform to the general decision.

*6th.* Consequently no one of the four nations will be able to make peace or war by itself alone, without the knowledge and consent of the congress. However, in case any one of the four nations finds itself insulted or attacked by another, be it white or red, the affair will be examined in the congress which will decree the satisfaction that the aggressor ought to give to the other. If that one refuses to give it, all the four nations will join together to make war to force it to give the satisfaction sought. Spain, their protector, in this case is obliged to furnish arms and munitions, providing always that she has consented to the same. For this reason, before declaring war or making peace, they must communicate with the commissioner of the King and he with the governor general.

*7th.* For the prompt re-establishment of peace among the aforementioned nations and the United States there will be named from now on a deputy from each nation to go to the United States on the part of the congress, offering to terminate the differences and suspend all hostility under the following conditions, and with the direction and knowledge of our representatives in the United States:

(1) That the boundaries agreed upon between the United States and the Cherokee nation in the treaties previous to the year 1785 will be punctually observed.

(2) That the boundaries that separated the Creek nation from Georgia in the year 1784 remain in effect until this point is examined in Madrid.

(3) That the boundaries which separate the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations from the United States remain on the same footing as now.

(4) Lastly, that the United States will obligate itself to have punctually observed, in the future, the boundaries mentioned in order to avoid all motives of discord on both sides, employing, if it should be necessary, force to restrain its subjects from passing the mentioned boundaries, and agreeing that the nations shall be able to eject them with force without the United States being able to ask for any satisfaction, providing that at the end of three months they refuse to withdraw or try to fortify themselves in the usurped territory.

*8th.* In case the United States refuses these pacific propositions, the four nations will decide in favor of the Cherokees and Creeks uniting themselves, if it be necessary, with those of the north to make

war in common accord until they secure the conditions so indispensable for their existence and tranquillity.

9th. If on the contrary the United States agrees with these pacific offers, the four nations will try to bring those of the north to a friendly agreement with the United States, advising them to accept the mediation of Spain to arrange and terminate amicably with the United States their discord and strife.

10th. The congress shall inform the commissioner of the King of the necessities of their nations at the end of each year (it ought to be after the crops are gathered), in order that the governor of the province, acquainted with their situation, can send to each one what it needs, and should the circumstances permit, at the time they return from the hunt (which is the time when they sow the corn or prepare the ground for it, so that they will have a new supply of grain for seed). It will be sent with the understanding that no more private gifts will be made, but that the gift will be given to each nation jointly once a year; to the Cherokees and Chickasaws at Barrancas de Margot; to the Choctaws on the Yazoo at the Large Part or upper villages, and on the Tombigbee river at the Small Part or lower villages; and to the Creeks in Pensacola and Apalache. Thus, those who go to New Orleans on private business will not receive more than provisions for their journey and some munitions to protect themselves on the way, unless they go delegated by the commissioner or commissaries of the King, and then they will receive the gratuity offered to them, but when they come thus commissioned, not more than one or two shall come at a time.

11th. The whites who have children in each one of the nations will be protected and considered as belonging to them, but in order to confirm this concept, they ought to present themselves to the commissioner of the King, and offer on their part to observe the agreement of their nations, and to advise the other individuals not to break away from the pact.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 26, 1793*

EL BARON DE CARONDELET

(From copy)

DELINO TO CARONDELET

*March 24, 1793*<sup>85</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: I am acquainted with Your Lordship's suggestion in your letter of the 29th of June of the year 1792, in regard to building a fort on the upper part of this river for the purpose of restraining the forays of the Osages and protecting the hunters and traders from their outrages. I have to say that, from the experience which I have

<sup>85</sup> BL.

acquired in some three years I have been at this post, and from the opinion of the major part of the most experienced hunters of this dependency who are extremely well-acquainted with this river and its banks, it seems that the construction of a fort in any place on the course of the river mentioned cannot protect them in any way from the attacks of the Indians referred to. This opinion seems to me to be very well-founded. I ought also to inform Your Lordship that the flow of this river is not at all regular or constant, and with this condition it is not navigable even with the medium sized *berchas*. It happens every day that hunters who find themselves a hundred and thirty leagues up the river cannot descend to this post in pirogues a little larger than the usual without unloading two or three times. This low water is a great obstacle in the way of supplying an establishment, in case of necessity, except by means of horses.

If it were possible, as Your Lordship says, to get together in the district of Ylinueses enough people to surround the place it would be the surest way to make an end of the Osages and serve to terrify the other nations. I am working to raise a party which I hope will amount to one hundred and twenty or thirty men to go against the Osages. Among their number will be fifty of the best hunters, who will enter the campaign in June, the most advantageous time to make war on them.

I pray God to grant you many years.

FORT ESTEVAN DE ARKANSAS, *March 24, 1793*

Your most devoted servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

IGNACIO DELINO (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON BARON DE CARONDELET.

[Draft by Carondelet]

Let the order be issued to the commandant of St. Louis to form a general expedition against the Osages; and to arrange another to combine with the said party from New Madrid and Arkansas, in order to find and destroy such of the Osages as may escape from the expedition from the settlements of Ylinoa. But let it be of no expense to the royal exchequer except for powder and ball. Let the commandant of Natchitoches also be informed to the same effect.

O'NEILL TO CARONDELET

*April 2, 1793*<sup>86</sup>

I enclose to Your Lordship a letter from George Pearis, delivered to me by a Creek Indian. I am informed that Pearis is a half-breed Cherokee, and that he was an officer with the English in their war



against the Americans. He has been a man of spirit, and I believe he is now a trader.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, *April 2, 1793.*

ARTURO O'NEILL (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

WETHERFORD TO O'NEILL

*April 4, 1793*<sup>87</sup>

RED GROUND *April 4th 1793*—

*May It Please Your Excellency*

I am under the Needcesety at this time of Sending the Woman I purchased from the Indians By the advice of our Lat friend G. M'Guilivry as the Chactaws has made a Demand of the Indian that Killid him and the are going to Kill her in Revenge therefore I think it most Best to send her to pancicola as in the Generals Life time he Asured me that I Should not be at any Looser By it But he Being Gon I Expect Your Excellency not Let me Suffer as I am not of ability of Loosing So much at present Altho [it] Lays at your own Discretion as I am Well as[sured] you Will Doe all in your power for me. . . . there is so much Confution in the Nation at present I am at a Stan to now What to Doe as I am much afraid We shall have Very troublesom times here this Sumer.

I am Sir With Every Estem your Excelencys Most oble<sup>d</sup>. Humble Serv

CHARLES WETHERFORD.

[Addressed:]

To His Excellency ARTHUR ONEAL

Governor & Commander in chief

PENSACOLA W FLORIDA

f<sup>r</sup>.

MR. DAN<sup>L</sup>. M GILIVRAY.

AGREEMENT OF ARKANSAS TRADERS TO FIGHT THE OSAGE

*April 8, 1793*<sup>88</sup>

*Copy.*

Today, 8th day of the month of April, 1793, we, the hunters of the dependencies of the post of Arkansas, being in full agreement to go to war against the Osage Indians, have unanimously agreed in the presence of Monsieur Delino, our commandant, and the witnesses Messieurs René Soumande and Baptiste Duchassin to the following articles:

<sup>87</sup> BL, (English).

<sup>88</sup> BL, (French).

1. As it is necessary for the good of humanity and our private interests to punish the Osages for their cruelty towards us, we are unanimously agreed to go to war against them in the first days of May of this year, and, if one of us at that time desires for some frivolous pretext to exempt himself from marching with us, we beg the government not to accord him the right to hunt in this district, for the reason that he did not want to contribute to the public peace.

2. With the consent of Monsieur Delino, our commandant, we name as our group leaders Michel, Bonne, Baptiste Dardaine, and Louis Souigny, as being the most capable, and we obligate ourselves to obey their orders implicitly.

3. If one of us happens to lose one of his limbs during the expedition, each hunter agrees to give him two piasters a year to help him to live.

4. Everything which will be taken from the enemy shall be brought to this post, sold at public auction, and the sum divided equally between the members of the expedition.

I, Ignace Delino, captain of the regiment of Louisiana, and civil and military commandant of this post, certify that the four articles above mentioned were agreed to and formulated before ourselves and the two witnesses named, and in order that they may serve in case of necessity we have deposited them in the archives of this post at the request of the contracting parties.

ARKANSAS, 8th of April, 1793.

*Signed* IGNAC<sup>10</sup> DELINO

RENÉ SOUMANDE and BAPTISTE DUCHASSIN.

DUROUZEUX TO O'NEILL

*April 10, 1793*<sup>89</sup>

COWEITTAUS 10<sup>th</sup> April 1793

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELENCE: The Barrior the Halloing King of the Coweittaus has Decierd me to Troble you with these— Last September M<sup>r</sup>. McGiveray Sent for him and Some Other Chiefes of Lower Towns & my Selve up to his Hoese. Whaer he Gave them an account of his Joerney to New Orleance. The Indions Deciered he Would Try and have the Ammunition that they had Gott Orders from M<sup>r</sup>. Oleiver the Egent to Receve might be Sent to St. Marcks that place being more convenient for them— He also Told them that thaer was Good<sup>a</sup> at New Orleance for presents for the Indions and that All for the Lower Towns Should be Sent to St. Marcks for them, as also one Hogshed of Rum to be Sent for Eche Towne this he promist to have Done for them if posable—

<sup>89</sup> BL, (English).

He also then Advised to go to St. Maray<sup>s</sup> and Meett the Ameracan Egent in Treitey, but not to give one Inch of thaer Land more then What had been Agreed on at the Tuckebatches by the Chiefes of the Whole Nation, if they Would Except of that, but if they Did Insist on any more not for to treat but come home as We Did but the Ammerecan Egent could not Setle Matters With them untel he had Sent Thaer Talks to Congress and Receved an answer from thaer, and then he Would come up in the Nation the furst of this insuuing may and then Treat With the Whole Nation in a Genorall Meeting of the Cheifes, When all Matters Should be setled but I believe he will not come to the Nation, as the Lower Toune Indions have Laetly Killed five men & a child of the Georgians on St. Marays & St. Tilleys. Which I think will provent his coming into the Nation untell that point is Setled.— We have had Some Shaunneys from the Norid With Talks from the Chiefe Warriors of that Nation to Sett the Creek Nation on the Ammeracans. Which was the ocation of the men being Killd on St. Marays, But the Shaunneys oobject was Comberland and Caintucke and not on the Georgians yett, I have Nothing more to acquaint your Excelence With at present, as to Creeks & Chickesaws Nothing but a Warr can Decied that Matter, as the Choctaws has Sent a peace Talk to the Creeks and promist to Ly Still and Not Not to interfair between them as they have Quareled they must agree again amongst them Selves—

The Halloing King of the Coweittaws & the Letle prince of the Brocon Arow is Now Come Doune to Know if What Mr. McGillveray had promist them was complied With or Not I Should have accompened them and given my Selfe the honnor of Waitting on your Excelence. But I have been Very Ill all this Winter past With Roommattick pains and I am not able to Ried so Long a Jorney. I hoepe you'l Excuese my bad Writting as I can hardle hold my pen With the pains in my Wrist, Wishing your Excelence Haelth and Happeness, I am With Graet Respect Your most Obediont & most Humble Sart.

JAS. DUROUZEUX (Rubric)

For Excelence ARTHUR ONEILL Esq<sup>r</sup>. Govonor and Commander in Chiefe of pensacola

P. S. Mr. McGillveray promist that Should Guns for the Coweittaws and Brocken Arow he promist three Hundred and for the Cusseittaws Toune he promist three Hundred also, as they Wair Numeress—and as they Warr they your Excelence Will Gett plentey of Vermillion as they a Graet Deal of that When out at Warr—

(Determine why he was not on the side of Pedro Olivier. Advise concerning the trip down of the Shawnees, the robbery of St. Maria,

and what he says about the Shawnees requesting the Creeks go against Cumberland and Kentucky.)<sup>90</sup>

TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*April 10, 1793*<sup>91</sup>

No. 50.

Our traders are still on the Missouri and exposed to the rancor of the Great and Little Osages if the latter should now learn of Your Lordship's measure taking trade from them, and your decision to make war on them. For this reason I have thought it well to postpone until the beginning of the coming month of July the publication of the measure, so that the traders mentioned may have time to withdraw, and to cause others to go and provide the rest of the nations with arms and ammunition before the Osages have learned of it. Thus the war against them may be more general and successful.

I can assure Your Lordship that there are no nations in these territories who are not at war with the Osages, but withal, it never happens that any of them kill more than two Osages in a year and they will never succeed in destroying them. With a population of 1250 men, young men and warriors, they live all together in the same village in the midst of an immense prairie, an advantage which makes them formidable, and which will not permit in our time the accomplishment of what is desired for the good of the province. Rather on the contrary, I fear and suspect that, if they begin war with these settlements, which are forty leagues distant from them, they will tire out and kill the poor inhabitants, who, not being able to cultivate their lands, will be obliged to emigrate to the other towns of the province or to the American side, as it is the nearest.

I am informed that the Loups have attacked a party of Osages on the Arkansas River, and have killed a half-breed reared in St. Louis named Mongrain, who was engaged in trading with the Osages. This I learned through the merchant Don Agustin Chouteau, who was in the nation. The Osage relatives of Mongrain, wishing to take vengeance for his death, sought the Loups, and not finding them, killed two French hunters on the White River and took another prisoner. The latter was rescued by the traders and will probably come to St. Louis. I have also been informed that they have robbed some Arkansas hunters.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *April 10, 1793.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

<sup>90</sup> Note in Carondelet's handwriting.

<sup>91</sup> BL.

*(Written in the margin)*

Incite the Indian nations to strike a general blow against that same town of the Osages, guided by those hunters and traders who know the country, as is intended by the Arkansas who ask for nothing but munitions, and who are taking many whites.

Also give those Indians munitions charged to the King's account. Finally, try to get together an expedition among those of New Madrid, St. Louis, Ste. Geneviève, etc., sufficient to destroy the town of the Osages, and co-operate with Don Thomas Portell. For this, Captain Don Zenon Trudeau is authorized to spend up to one thousand pesos. An account must be rendered later as to how this money was used.

(Carondelet's Rubric)

MUCKLASAW MINGO TO THE COMMANDANT OF L'ANSE À LA GRAISSE

*April 12, 1793*<sup>92</sup>

CHICKSAW NATION, *April 12<sup>th</sup> 1793*

SIR: I sent a peace talk by a Ingin wich was to be dealivered tow you I beg the faver of you tow give the talk tow the hed man of the Dealeways tow forward it tow the Differan tribes of ingins in that parte for we meain Nothing but frengship with the Ingins in that parte.

Our hed men that youst tow foremly talk tow them is all Deadid but we have not for got theair Tolks I shold have a gave you a fuller Tolk but the fello that was tow a Carried hit wint of unbeknown tow yous and I Rote this in a hurre tow send after him

MUCKLASAW: MINGO

To the Commedant of Lancelegrace

Addressed: To the Commedant of Lancegrace

DELINO TO CARONDELET

*April 12, 1793*<sup>93</sup>

No. 115.

I have caused to appear before me the hunters of this dependency, whom I have acquainted with Your Lordship's suggestions in your official letter on the 29th of last January in regard to the Osages, bringing to their attention that it is the best way to obtain peace in this district. They unanimously agreed to form a party and

<sup>92</sup> BL, (English).

<sup>93</sup> BL.

march against those Indians, agreeing among themselves at the same time upon the instructions, of which I enclose a copy. The total number of hunters will probably amount to fifty or sixty. I shall try to add to these hunters sixty or more Indians of the Arkansas nation. This party will set out on the march in the first days of May, which I bring to Your Lordship's notice for your information.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

FORT SAN ESTEVAN DE ARKANSAS, *April 12, 1793.*

IGNACIO DELINO (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

O'NEILL TO CARONDELET

*April 12, 1793*<sup>94</sup>

Daniel McGillivray, cousin of Don Alexander McGillivray, has arrived at this post bringing an American woman, widow of the American killed by the Creeks in the Choctaw nation near the house of Benjamin James. The Creek of the town of Cosaes who captured the woman took her to his said town, but as she did not wish to live with him he said he would kill her unless she was ransomed. The trader, Charles Wetherford, who is married to a sister of Don Alexander McGillivray, seeing this, bought her from the Indian for three hundred chocks or *rayas*, which I believe amount to one hundred and twenty pesos. I directed Don McGillivray to deliver her to the Spanish government, warning him at the same time that this woman was in danger of her life among the Creeks, now much inflamed against the Americans and Chickasaws. I now place her at the disposition of Your Lordship together with a statement of the goods Wetherford asserts she cost him, and I enclose for your hands the accompanying letter he writes me on this point.

In the meantime, until Your Lordship decides, I have ordered, in view of her unhappy and abandoned condition, that she be given rations charged to the account of the Indian department.

She tells me that when the Indians took her prisoner she left in her house utensils and goods to the value of six hundred pesos, and that she hopes that the trader Benjamin and Señor Wetherford would make a memorandum of them, in view of the fact that her husband was a subject of Spain, proceeding from New Madrid and looking for his livelihood among the Choctaws.

This woman is commended to Your Lordship's consideration and humanity, so that you may relieve her poverty and recompense her for the misery she has suffered.

God protect Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, *April 12, 1793.*

ARTURO O'NEILL (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

TUSKEATOCAN MINGO TO THE COMMANDANT OF L'ANSE À LA GRAISSE

*April 12, 1793*<sup>95</sup>

CHICKSAW NATION *April 12th 1793*

SIR: I received your invitaion to com tow Se as you wish I shold be verey glad tow a went but my Naition is ingage in a war with the Creaick Naition and I Cant leave hoaim on that account but if it had beain in my power I shold have went for I hold you fast by the hand and Look on you as Our fathers and frends as four Our Dearsputes it Don't alter our frendship in the Least

I Remain in frendship

TUSKEATOCAN MINGO

the king of the Chick Saw Naition.

To the Commedant of Lancelegrace

Addressed:

To the Commedant of Lancelgrace.

FRANCHIMASTABE TO LANZOS

*April 22, 1793*<sup>96</sup>

*Talk of Franchimastabée to the Chief of Mobile:*

Unable at present to go to the city because he lacks horses, he came here to give you his message so that it might reach the great chief in New Orleans, who doubtless will listen to him, as he is the father of all the red men and desires nothing but their welfare.

My brother, I came here at the request of all the chiefs and white men of my nation to tell you that the store which Turnbull has established in the hunting grounds of my people is causing them the greatest harm because of the large quantity of tafia which is sold there. By this means he is able to take from the savages the skins which they owe to the traders in the villages, and as a result these traders are unable to pay their debts.

My brother, you know that it was at the request of the king of the Chickasaws that Turnbull received permission to establish a

<sup>95</sup> BL, (English).

<sup>96</sup> BL, (French).

store at Mobile, but at that time I did not believe that he could send goods to our hunting grounds. I am very much afraid of the consequences. These red men are all in debt to the white men of the nation and all the skins which they get are for them.

I shall also give this message to the chief, Monsieur Cadet, in my nation, and I beg you to send this one to my father at New Orleans.

FRANCHIMASTABÉE, (mark) his mark

MOBILE, 22d of April, 1793.

LANZOS TO CARONDELET

*April 25, 1793*<sup>97</sup>

On the 22nd of the current month there arrived at this fort, accompanied by twenty warriors and two women, the great chief of the Choctaw nation, Franchimastabé, to whom I gave audience in full dress uniform on the 23rd, making use of the interpreter Simon Andry. I listened to his harangue, in which he talked about nothing but the poverty which his Indians are suffering, the audacity and contempt shown by the Tallapoosas towards the Chickasaws, the need of the latter to make war on the first named, the obligation of the Choctaws to aid them on account of the relationship which the two nations have contracted by their marriages, and lastly, the usual begging petition.

It would weary Your Lordship to repeat in detail my reply, directed only to explaining to him the desire of Your Lordship that the Tallapoosas shall make peace with the Chickasaws, and in case they do not succeed in so doing, that the Choctaws should not by any means take part in the war. They should, on the contrary, use all their efforts to compose the quarrels of their relatives, friends, and allies with the Tallapoosas and Creeks, so that the Americans may not succeed in their projects of stirring up sedition among them in order to start a general war. In that event, without any doubt, they would succeed in annihilating these nations, in order afterwards to usurp their possessions. These injuries will be experienced before long by the Chickasaws in case they do not wish to take advantage of the salutary advice of the Spanish government. To Spain it would be a matter of great regret to have to distribute to the two nations at war ammunition with which to fight each other, as it would also do with the Choctaws, in view of the fact that these nations are our friends and allies. These are the powerful motives which the government has for being guarantor for the peace it desires for the nations, so that with it they may obtain the greatest advantages.

<sup>97</sup> BL.



The great chief promised me to work personally to accomplish the desires of Your Lordship, and that without loss of time he would make an agreement with Red Shoe in order to bring it about, as well as with other influential chiefs, to whom he would repeat my harangue, composed so greatly to his satisfaction, for the purpose of procuring the benefit and peace of all the red men. Rising and giving me a close embrace, he delivered to me a memorial, which I enclose herewith to Your Lordship. Then turning to his warriors, he told them that they were to recognize only the Spaniards as their brothers and friends, for they were the only white men who desired their happiness and that now and always they would keep their roads white for them.

I believe, and Your Lordship should believe, also, that the memorial was invented by the House of Panton, and that his coming for the same reason must have been at the request of this house.

This is all that I can tell Your Lordship in regard to Franchimastabé, whom, as well as his warriors, I have treated with the greatest consideration, as Your Lordship may believe.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

MOBILE, *April 25, 1793.*

MANUEL DE LANZOS (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

*(Note by Carondelet)*

Let the reply mentioned be approved, and let the said commandant be authorized to reply to the message of Franchimastabé that an order has been sent to the governor of Natchez to stop the trade which Turnebull is conducting on the Yazou River.

PORTELL TO CARONDELET

*April 29, 1793*<sup>98</sup>

Today the Shawnee Indian, whom I sent to the Chickasaw nation, arrived bringing me from its great chief two letters, the originals of which I am sending you.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *April 29, 1793.*

TOMÁS PORTELL (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

## DE MILFORD TO O'NEILL

*April 31, 1793*<sup>99</sup>TUQUEBACHET, *31st of April, 1793*

SIR: The one who will give you this letter is the son of Collonel, the interpreter of Mr. McGillivray. He has just been made captain commander of the young warriors of Tuquebachet, and his name is Dog Warrior. The other one who is with him is second in command. They are going to Pensacola to get the rest of the ammunition you gave to them. They had left it with Millet. As they are the two principal men after Mad Dog, I take the liberty of recommending them to Your Excellency.

Everybody here is dying of hunger. If Your Excellency deems it wise to give them some provisions to take to their families, that will be, I believe, highly acceptable.

I have sent four letters to Mr. Panton to send to the Baron, and as these letters come from the Americans, I requested Mr. Panton to show them to you before sending them on. That is why I have sent them to him open. I gave a letter for Your Excellency to Joo Collonel. He is to be at Pensacola with his son. He has helped me a great deal in persuading the savages not to wage war on the Chickasaws. I am charmed to see my little army returning, in view of the fact that the Baron has sent M. Olivier to make peace on his behalf.

Although I have not sent the letters of the Americans to Your Excellency, I believe that you are too sensible to be angry with me about it. I pray Your Excellency to accept my thanks for the kindnesses which you show towards me, and I beg you to believe that I shall remember them as long as I live. I likewise beg you to believe that I am quite sorry that I have offended you.

I have the honor of being Your Excellency the most humble and most obedient servant,

DE MILFORD

MONSIEUR ARTUR O'NEILL, Captain-General.

## DE MILFORD TO O'NEILL

*April 31, 1793*<sup>100</sup>TUQUEBACHET, *31st of April, 1793*

SIR: I have just learned that the Americans have come to destroy the Little Chia which is on the Flint River. They have burned the village and they have taken a number of Negroes. This news is not yet confirmed.

<sup>99</sup> BL, (French).<sup>100</sup> BL, (French).

The Coulljmy arrived today from the Oconee, where they have killed three men and a woman, and they brought a little boy as prisoner. I believe that war is inevitable; that is why I pray Your Excellency to be so good as to send this letter to the Baron.

I am with respect, your most humble and obedient servant,

DE MILFORD.

To His Excellency, the Governor O'NILL.

P. S. The chief of Casistas came yesterday to ask me if their ammunition and arms had been sent to St. Marks as they had been promised. As I know nothing about it, I beg Your Excellency to be so kind as to let me know about it.

CARONDELET TO TRUDEAU

*May 6, 1793*<sup>101</sup>

Notwithstanding the fears which you express to me in your official letter No. 50 in regard to the evil consequences which may arise from the declaration of war against the Osages, I reiterate the order to you, which I give in a separate letter of this date, adding that it is necessary to incite by every means the Indian nations bordering on these settlements, in order to make a general attack on the village of the Osages. In order to make it a success, those hunters and traders who know the country, and who will lend themselves most willingly, may serve as guides. The Arkansas are going to make a similar attempt, and will form an expedition of a hundred and thirty men.

The last named Indians, with whom a large number of whites are going, have not asked for any other assistance than munitions which I have granted to them, and therefore you will observe the same plan with those of that district, giving them munitions which they need, at the expense of the royal treasury.

I therefore authorize you to use your best efforts to get together an expedition which you will arrange with the commandant of New Madrid and Ste. Geneviève. In order that a respectable force may be assembled from all those settlements, you may spend up to one thousand pesos, presenting later a detailed account of the expenditures.

May God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *May 6, 1793.*

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

DON ZENON TRUDEAU

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<sup>101</sup> BL.

## TRUDEAU'S REPORT ON THE ENGLISH FUR TRADE

*May 18, 1793*<sup>102</sup>

The superiority of English commerce over ours in this continent is founded on methods which are not yet in use among us.

The first moving factor in their operations arises from their correspondence and relation with the capital. The greater part of the merchants of Montreal have commissioners and agents in England and those are allied with rich men who cannot be inconvenienced by delay of their funds. While we, on the contrary, have no houses in Europe and few merchants in the capital in business with them.

In Canada, which is the gathering place of the boats of the metropolis for the merchandise used in trade with the Indians, the merchant receives the goods on a deposit or on his own account, whether he sends them to the agent at Michillimackinac who has ordered them in England, or to one who is limited to taking them from Montreal. In whatever manner the operation is accomplished, the payment for the goods destined for Michillimackinac is not made until after two years in England, and those destined for the north, at the end of three, and, sometimes four years.

In our capital, on the contrary, nearly all the boats need their funds to meet the obligations they have left behind them. It is then that some vigilant speculator takes advantage of the conditions which promise him a certain profit on his operations, even though he may have to satisfy the highest contingencies.

But in Canada the English merchant does not fear individual embarrassment, for the merchandise for which he asks is furnished to him on a profit more or less high which is rated by the London price, and there the price of merchandise, as well as that of the exchange in Europe, remains constantly the same with each banker at the same time. The same procedure is faithfully followed by the merchant of Canada in his relation with this continent. The price of the merchandise in Europe is placed upon the invoices with a certain percent of profit, and both go on to their destination.

At the same time the penetrating vision of the bold and ambitious merchant rapidly runs over the entire globe. His profits are calculated beforehand. The remittance of his peltries to Europe, local or foreign consumption, the solicitations, more or less urgent, of remote nations, all form from that time the thermometer of his different prices; and the speculation of the rich and skillful man in Europe gives from that time a value to the peltries of which the trader here receives the first advantage.

Among us, on the contrary, the price of merchandise at the capital

is always limited. The concourse and abundance of the season usually regulate the procedure of the merchant in regard to the solicitations made upon him by his agents, who receive here in exchange, peltries at a fixed and determined price.

From this state of affairs the advantage of the English commerce with the nations remains incontestably with that country, while on the contrary that which we conduct is totally for Europe or for the capital. In order to enter into rivalry with the English in the commerce of the nations, it would be necessary that we should have in Europe rich agents who would be willing to direct their operations to this part of the universe, and from that time we would obtain the superiority over a nation which has no personal deposit in this continent.

Nevertheless there are still remaining to them other advantages as follows: The bulk of their expenses is better handled than ours in regard to the transportation of merchandise from Europe to the capital. The said merchandise is manufactured expressly for the Indians; and on account of the low cost of their living, it always has the preference. They use few sailors in their shipping and their trips are rapid. The price of the insurance is low. All these points must necessarily have an influence on the selling price of their merchandise.

But if we cannot come to these methods are we not well indemnified by the difference in convenience which we have in transporting our merchandise by water from the capital to the most remote nations? The English have to make more than a hundred portages to reach our possessions, where their merchandise is sold at a high price. What a difference in expenses!

We find that, although the economy with which they are introduced into our territory counterbalances our convenience, the advantage will always be ours from the time that the government causes the territory belonging to it, and from which the English draw the greater part of their rich peltries, to be respected.

The merchandise of England has traveled over a distance of 1500 leagues to reach Montreal. Its transportation to the place of disembarkation has cost about 131½ percent. Then it takes another route and goes to the places where it is to be loaded in canoes made of the bark of trees. Each has a crew of nine paddlers, commanded sometimes by a factor and at others by a leader.

The canoes for Michillimackinac have to cross thirty-six portages where the men are obliged to carry them on their backs in order to pass places impracticable by water and difficult by land. The merchandise destined for the north district, with which communication is by way of Lake Superior in order to reach our territory, is

also carried over impassable places more than a hundred times before arriving at its destination. These men of iron, who are hardened by the rigorous climate, have no food but unhulled corn, mixed with a little deer fat, and rare is the year when some of the men are not eaten on account of the lack of provisions. The extremely small salaries of those who go from Montreal to Michillimackinac do not exceed 300 or 350 pounds for what they call a wintering. This wintering begins from the moment they leave Montreal, which is in April or May, and terminates in July or August of the following year. It covers fifteen months of struggle, for which they receive merchandise in payment of their salaries. The merchandise is furnished to them at a price so high that these same salaries never amount to half of the sum promised. If these employees do not obey their factor, or if they raise their hands against him they lose their salaries; and if they allow anything to get wet or spoiled, they pay for it. This severity and discipline does not fail to contribute to the success of the operations.

On the arrival of the canoes in Michillimackinac, men and merchandise are separated into two bodies, in order to form two different expeditions under two factors or leaders, and each starts for its destination.

Whether the merchandise is sold to the Indians by factors or by the proprietors, there are different methods of obtaining it. Some receive it directly from London, others from Montreal, and some from Michillimackinac. The first are simply charged with the freight, transportation, insurance, and commission. The second are made to pay from thirty to forty percent, and the last from seventy to eighty percent on the price in England. Consequently a man of small knowledge in business may, among the English, carry on the same volume of operations as the most skillful merchants nor can the one or the other determine his profit except in the same form and manner.

It happens nevertheless that this same merchandise is brought here secretly under the same conditions as to Michillimackinac, despite the passage of 250 leagues, and a long portage which the English have to make in addition. But the purpose of this operation is nothing more than making themselves the owners of our peltries. The English make use of their merchandise to acquire our peltries in the same way that we use our peltries to acquire merchandise. The former can then regulate the movement of their operations on the purchase England makes of their peltries, while we are compelled to follow the regulations imposed upon us by the capital. From this difference in operation there undoubtedly arises a profit which creates the advantage of one on the ruin of the other.

Before following further the operations of the English in this district it is necessary to retrace our steps and observe the volume of their commerce in what they call the North, after they have crossed Lake Superior to reach the sources of our Missouri.

Two companies, now united in one, handle this rich trade. The merchandise destined for these uncommon profits goes from Montreal to be disembarked at the entrance of Lake Superior, fifteen leagues from Michillimackinac. There it is re-embarked, to be scattered in various deposits which it has been necessary to place so that one part may take the direction of a road leading to Hudson Bay, while the others take an opposite direction leading them to the Upper Missouri. To the latter they travel by water and land over territory belonging to His Majesty, where dwell a great number of different nations.

This company, which has its agents in London and Montreal, sends every year fifty or sixty canoes, of from fourteen to fifteen thousand pounds (Tours money), to which it is necessary to add transportation, freight, and insurance to Canada. This comes to the sum of 72,000 pounds, and afterwards to 720,000 pounds for the expenses of the canoes, equipment, provisions, utensils, and nine oarsmen for each of the canoes which transport this merchandise to where it is to be consumed, after these same goods have been carried on their backs more than a hundred times in order to pass insuperable rapids and falls of the rivers, and also in order to cross stretches separating one river from another.

For this journey, as long as it is painful, these men are given from 1000 to 1800 pounds for the wintering, although they are more or less in the habit of consuming their salaries in liquor, which is sold to them at 40 pounds the *alimete*, and the rest of their provisions in the same proportion. The sum total of the fifty or sixty canoes, including all the expenses, up to the moment when they arrive among the savage nations, amounts to 1,692,000 pounds, for which there are sent annually to England from this district alone 1600 to 1700 bales of fine peltries. These can be compared to about 12,000 bales of deer skins without hair. The sale in Europe of these peltries, under the worst circumstances, produces 4,000,000 pounds from which it is necessary to subtract the freight, insurance, commissions, and duties, which may amount to 400,000 pounds, so that there are left 3,600,000 pounds to pay the principal fund, which is 1,692,000 leaving 1,908,000 clear profit for the proprietors of the stock.

It is necessary to turn from the mountains of the north to the plains of the west to finish explaining the commerce of the English with the savages who live on the borders of the possessions of His Majesty. Retracing our steps, we find that Montreal despatches

annually to Michillimackinac about eighty canoes, with the same number of men, in the same manner, and with about the same investments as those destined for the north. Therefore eighty canoes of 1400 to 1500 pounds each, London prices, with their expenses as far as Montreal, amount to a total of 36,000 and later to 360,000 pounds for those which it is necessary to bring from Canada in order to transport the merchandise to the place of consumption. Altogether it amounts to the sum of 1,656,000, with which is obtained the quantity of 3000 to 3400 bales of various peltries which are to be regarded as equal to 9000 bales of deer skin without hair, of which the sale will produce about 3,500,000 pounds. From this amount it is necessary to subtract the freight, insurance, commission, and duties, which may come to 300,000, leaving afterwards 3,200,000 to pay the principle of 1,656,000 pounds. This will make 1,544,000 pounds profit for the share holders of this commerce with the different savage nations who dwell on our borders, of which it is necessary to give information, as well as of the particular consumption of each one, as is explained in the following list.

ST. LOUIS OF YLLINOIS, *May 18, 1793.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

DE MILFORD TO CARONDELET

*May 26, 1793* <sup>103</sup>

TUGUET BACHET, *May 26, 1793.*

SIR:

I have the honor of informing Your Excellency that I have just received two letters from you. These are the only letters which I have received since the one you sent me on the 24th of last October. The first one was sent by Mr. Panton and is dated March 25th. I received it only on the 20th of May.

Your Excellency does me the honor of stating that you could see by my letter that I was not aware of McGillivray's death. That is true. You also tell me to send the principal chief to Pensacola because Monsieur Olivier is expecting him in order to make arrangements so that the Creeks can make peace with the Chickasaws. I had sent twelve hundred men against them when I received a letter from Monsieur O'Neill in which he tells me the following: Monsieur Olivier has left here several days ago to go to the Chickasaws by way of Mobile in order to see if he can induce them to make peace with the Creeks. He has the Baron de Carondelet's instructions in this matter.

My little army had left four days previously but I immediately

<sup>103</sup> BL, (French).



sent a special messenger to call them back and they returned. The Chickasaws have just sent to ask us for peace and we are going to hold a conference to accord it to them.

You command me in the same letter to have Seagrove arrested. I mentioned it to Mad Dog. He said that we must see two other chiefs and if they were favorable, this could be done. I consulted them all and all three promised me that if he came here they would turn him over to me. As for the northern Indians, they went back before I had received your letters.

The second letter was given to me yesterday by Monsieur Olivier and is dated December 12th. This rascal of a Wellbank ran away. I had given orders for him to receive the punishment he deserved. He must have found out that he could no longer escape punishment, and ran away by the Cherokee country, so Ocklockonee will be quiet. But there is another rascal among the Lower Creeks. This is Galphin who, several days after robbing the Americans, stole something from two of your inhabitants near St. Marys. He robbed them of everything, taking away from them their blankets, sheets, mattresses, seven Negroes, their cows, and horses. There was also a little boy whom Galphin scalped. It is a little band of thieves whom the chief of the nation had abandoned to anybody who wants to kill them. No satisfaction will be asked for their death. I heard that they were near the St. Johns River where they have stolen almost a hundred more oxen and cows.

You were kind enough to tell me that you had ordered Monsieur O'Neill to give me whatever I should ask him, because you were too far away, but he did not have the kindness to let me know about it. However, that did not prevent me from assisting you nor from expending trouble and money to serve you better. I report that I have brought back to your interest three of the largest villages of this nation. I have also given satisfaction to the fifteen chiefs whom I sent to the Americans to prevent the line from being marked off. Finally, I neglect nothing to serve you.

I know that I have several enemies who are trying to make my conduct seem as black to you as it is white; but I also know that you are too intelligent not to see their perfidy. To tell the truth, I did not show great friendship to Monsieur Olivier last year, but I had my reasons.

McGillivray and I feared one another. I was afraid of him because of what I knew of his disposition and the perfidy of his family, and he feared me because he knew what a considerable influence I have as general of the nation, always ready to march at their head whenever necessary. At any rate, these fears do not exist today and I shall be pleased to support Monsieur Olivier and consequently your interests.

Your Excellency was so kind as to write to me that my salary began from the moment I had arrived at New Orleans. This was, if I remember correctly, a year ago the first of May. May I be so bold as to ask you to have this salary sent to me, or to be so kind as to send me an order for it, and I shall send someone to receive it. As I think I ought to give a receipt, you might, if you desire, send this money to Monsieur Olivier for me and I shall give him the receipt. You also did me the honor of writing to me that you would order the 150 piasters which I spent in the King's service paid back to me. I take the liberty of begging you to have this sum remitted to me. As for the money which I spent since, I leave it to your generosity and whatever you do will be right.

Today we decided on a date for a general conference to ascertain your orders. This conference will take place on the 5th of June. I am living at Tuquetbacht. The chiefs required it of me. I am sorry that Monsieur Olivier is living so far away from me, and I fear with reason that something grievous will happen to him because McGillivray's family is circulating the rumor that he was poisoned.

Please give my thanks to your ladies. I beg you to present them my humble respects. The Indian tells me that the beaver died on the way. I shall do my best to find another.

I leave my interests in your hands and I am anxious to be concerned only with yours. I pray Your Excellency to believe me,

With deepest respect, Your most humble and obedient servant,

DE MILFORD.

Monsieur LE BARON DE CARONDELET.

P. S. I am giving this letter to Monsieur Olivier so that he may send it on to you.

DE MILFORD TO [CARONDELET]

*May 30, 1793*<sup>104</sup>

TUQUET BACHET, *30th of May, 1793*

SIR: I arrived yesterday from Monsieur Olivier's where I stayed two days to find out what Monsieur Olivier would say, but he seems to be adopting an attitude which does not happen to please me. I began by showing him the letter which I requested him to send to you. He seemed to be so conceited and cool that I put back my letter into my pocket. I am sending it to you by a special courier. I take the liberty to beg Your Excellency of rewarding satisfactorily the one who shall give you this message. He is a relative of Mad

<sup>104</sup> BL. (French).

Dog. Mad Dog begs Your Excellency to give to the bearer of this letter a saddle and a bridle for him.

I have the honor of being Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

DE MILFORD.

P. S. I beg you to send the answer by this same savage. He is a trustworthy man.

WHITE TO CARONDELET

*May 30, 1793*<sup>105</sup>

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: On the 15th day of the current month Don Arturo O'Neill turned over to me the command of the fort. Some days before, nine warriors from the town of Sahacola had arrived with an order from Don Pedro Olivier for 300 pounds of powder, 600 of ball and the corresponding amount of gun flints. Notwithstanding the old date of the order, which is of last August, I filled it with the approval of O'Neill. Later the Little Prince of the Broken Arrows, and White Bird King of the Casistas, arrived with the said orders bearing the same date, the first for an equal quantity of munitions and the second for 700 pounds of powder and 1400 of ball. They said they could not come sooner on account of a lack of horses. They all belong to the Lower Creeks, and besides the ammunition, they have been given some presents, clothing, and provisions. It was necessary to increase the latter a little on account of the scarcity in their nation. They went away well pleased, and I advised them not to be the aggressors or the first to begin hostilities against the Americans. But it seems that war is inevitable, as Your Lordship will perceive by the copy of a letter which I enclose from John Kenneard, a powerful half-breed, to Panton, in which he reports various sackings and murders committed by the Indians, to such extent that Seagrove, the American agent, has informed them that his powers of treating with them have been suspended by order of the Secretary of War, and that the first conference he will have with them will be at the point of the cannon.

When the Little Prince was here he received news that they killed a cousin of his and wounded another from the same town. They had gone to steal horses. With the Little Prince there came the half-breed interpreter Duruzeau, who is of the opinion that he would be given a pension. I told him I would submit it to Your Lordship. Panton informs me that a certain Cornel is in the same situation, but O'Neill knew nothing of these pensions. If Your Lordship intends to grant them, I believe they will be useful and good in-

terpreters. None of these Indians knew where Olivier was. A letter which I received yesterday for him from Lanzos will go tomorrow to the nation by a white man.

For a month ten Cherokee Indians have been here, awaiting Your Lordship's reply in regard to a letter from a certain MacDonald, settled in their nation, which was sent to Your Lordship by Don Arturo O'Neill. Up to now they have been kept in the house of Pantón, who, it appears, is getting tired of them, for yesterday he came to ask me for brandy and provisions, but I only sent them a pound of rice daily for each one, until Your Lordship's instructions arrive.

Last night a white man arrived from the Cherokee nation, bringing a fugitive Negro belonging to Pantón. He says that, as a result of the arrival of a commissioner of the Congress, a council of the chiefs and MacDonald had been called. Its object was to incite them to war against the Creeks by promising them assistance, and Governor Blount, knowing that the commissioner also was charged with getting information in regard to the injuries inflicted by Blount upon the Cherokees, had offered 500 pesos for his head.

I am at Your Lordship's service. I pray God to preserve your life many years.

PENSACOLA, *May 30, 1793.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most attentive and obedient servant.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

#### INDIAN SPEECHES MADE AT LONG TOWN

*June 1, 1793*<sup>106</sup>

At a meeting in Long Town Chichesaw Nation at the house of Peomingo Chief on the 1st day of June 1793, in order to procure a peace and good understanding between the Indian Nations, in presence of Benjamin James.

#### SPEECH OF TUSCOONPOY—CHACTAW CHIEF

My friends and elder Brothers, I am now come in order to open the path to your Nation, which for some time past has been dull, not on your account or ours, but on account of our elder brothers, the Creeks, and I receive talks from the Nation and beads in token of continual friendship. I now fetch you this belt of beads in token of a continual friendship on my part. With which he handed it to Mucklesaw Mingo, who received it with great demonstrations of joy.

<sup>106</sup> BL, (English).

Now, my friends and elder Brothers, I have this belt of Wampum sent from my elder brothers the Creeks to our Nation from Peomingo of the Cowittas and Offey Hago of the Tuckabatches, which came by the way of Pensacola and the Mobile, and then to our Nation to two beloved men of our Nation, by means of M<sup>r</sup>. Panton who supplies us with a trade, and we four Nations of Indians M<sup>r</sup>. Panton informs us that there was a large Army coming against you, and he stoped them; on which our elder Brothers the Creeks sent this belt of Wampum in token of continual friendship on their part, requesting at same time that we would return an answer on our part, on which our beloved man Toboucah is gone, at which time the Creeks requested that one of our Nation should go to their brothers the Chickesaws, and declare the intention of a continual friendship to them; on which business I am now come and hope you will consider the good event of it, and conclude a peace which is the desire of our fathers and beloved white people the Spaniards, which if you take you are desired to go and meet the Creeks in our Nation, and go from there in company with them and us, to see our beloved head man the Spaniards, & hold a talk with them. It was desired that you should send an answer to the Creeks from this Nation, but we found the time so short appointed by our fathers for a meeting, that it could not be done, so our beloved man Tobookah that is gone to the Creeks is to explain that matter for us.—So after many ceremonies too tedious to mention, he handed his belt of Wampum to Mucklasso Mingo a Chickesaw and finished.

#### MUCKLASSO MINGO'S SPEECH

My Kings relations and Warriors of the Chickasaw Nation, our friends and younger Brothers the Chactaws, think well of our making peace with the Creeks, our beloved red man Hylaycabby has sent his peace talk to the Creeks, who has lost his near Relation; Now my friends & Warriors I have taken the peace belt in my hand, declaring a peace with the Creeks on my part: With such Belts as this my forefather Pyomattohah used to declare peace: The day has been very dark and cloudy for some time past, now the sun is getting out of the clouds and may it shine bright and clear on us & our Women & Children, and let them prosper and replenish; I will cover up the bodies of the dead, and wipe off the blood and think of the living; for the dead can not be fetched to life, but I may save the lives of the living. After many ceremonies declaring peace and friendship sat down.

I now interpreted to them M<sup>r</sup>. Panton's letter, after hearing it Mucklasso Mingo gets up and hands the peace Belt to Pio Mingo who now speaks.

My friends and relations headmen & Warriors of the Chickasaw Nation: You now see me. I have now taken the peace string of Wampum fetched by the Creeks by our brothers the Chactaws: You see me now I have got it fast, seizing with both hands, declaring a peace on my part: I never wanted war with these people: I have put up with their insults for these six years past: In the first place they killed two of my town. I put up with it; since which they have been stealing our horses, killing our white people & I still said nothing: and at last came to my Nation and killed one of our own people, which was sufficient to raise the blood of any man of spirit, but I still put up with it, as it was the talk of our Fathers the Spaniards to keep peace among us red people. After which they killed some of our Nation in their own land, which raised us in general for a War this in a bad situation; almost starved to death; no place of defence for our Women and children, but our brothers the Americans were good enough to send us a little corn to support life, and we have now built us Forts, & now they send a peace Talk. I have said [to] my Warriors that I never would make peace while I was alive without I get satisfaction, but since it is the talk of our younger Brothers and beloved friends the Chactaws for peace, our beloved headman Hylaycabby for peace who has lost his near Relation, and our Nation for peace in general, why should I stand out that is but one man? no! I take the talk and confirm it on my side, in case the Creeks do not break it: They have made very light of us as I have heard, saying that we were but a handfull of people, they could lay us desolate in a little time. I look on them in as light a manner as they do me, for I don't think they are Warriors, they are thieves and Murderers, that is their chief calling for a living. But I take this peace talk hoping they will comply with it on their side for the future. And now my Warriors and Women and Children, let the dark cloud that has been over us so long be blown off, and the Sun shine clear on us, & each of you to your devotion or calling that you follow, and the Fruits that Nature sends us prosper us so famished.

Now, I say, my friend and old acquaintance I have something else to ask of you: It is the request of our Father the Spaniards and the beloved man in our Nation that you would go to a meeting with the red people and the Governor of the Natchez on the Yassou River and hear his Talk. After some time, says he, my two Brothers are absent, and I thought to sett off in ten days for Cumberland, for my Brother Colonel Robertson sent his son down with Corn to me, and requested I would see him safe back. I say, my friend, you may manage that point, send some of your people with him after I have come so far on that business, never let me go back ashamed. Says

he, the Spaniards have sent for me several times, it is not for any ill will I do not go and see them. I have never spoiled any thing for them; I cannot think what they want to see me for, but since it is your desire I will go and see them: That is what I wanted to hear, what road will you go? I will go the straight path to the Assembly. So I bid him good night and came off.

(Signed) BEN. JAMES

OLIVIER TO CARONDELET

*June 11, 1793* <sup>107</sup>

On the date of the 22nd of last month I informed Your Lordship of my arrival at this nation, where I immediately asked Mad Dog to get together as soon as possible all the chiefs of his nation. This could not be done until the 8th of this month, when there were assembled at the town of Tokepatche the principal chiefs of all the towns with the exception of some of the Lower Creeks and the Seminoles, who, on account of being very distant and there being no time for it, were not called. The council lasted five days, and in it I explained to them, through the usual interpreter of this nation, Josef Cornell, all that Your Lordship charged me to tell them. They were all well pleased with the plan formed by Your Lordship to unite these four nations for their common good. They assured me that they would always preserve Your Lordship's message, for they knew it to be good. They were extremely sorry, however, that the place, as well as the time, appointed for the proposed assemblage of the four nations, is impossible. First, because the site assigned is too far from their lands; second, because they cannot leave their towns until after the fiesta of the maize and the renewal of the ball game, which are now on the eve of taking place and to which they are attached by their laws and customs, with no possibility of failing in them. In view of these circumstances, they told me to beg Your Lordship not to take offense at these objections and reasons so powerful for them which, at the present time, prevent them from giving to Your Lordship proofs of their desire to carry out the part assigned to them, in fulfillment of Your Lordship's intentions. They offer to Your Lordship, if it pleases you, to transfer the announced assemblage to the old fort which the French had on the Tombigbee, or the Mobile River, and should Your Lordship think it proper to hold it the middle of September of this present year, to assemble there with the greatest pleasure. These places are, with slight variation, in the center of the four nations who are to take part in the assembly, and by that time they can

be informed of Your Lordship's decision in this particular. Mad Dog asked me if I knew whether Payemengo would attend the assembly, mentioning that he, as well as the other chiefs of his nation, were very anxious to see that man with whom they had much to discuss. To this question I could not make any reply except that I knew that he had promised last winter to go to the house of Ben James in order to see the now deceased McGillivray with whom he was to discuss the quarrels of his nation with this one. The journey of Payemengo did not take place on account of the death of McGillivray and the killing of one of the former's warriors by the Creeks. I said that I was informed that Your Lordship would spare no effort to bring about Payemengo's attendance. Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan de Lavillebeuvre has not succeeded in getting Mr. Ballew to come to this place with the chiefs of the Choctaw nation. I asked him to send them to me to negotiate the peace between the Creeks and the Chickasaws and to put some restraint on the bad conduct of the Alibamons and Creeks toward the whites established in the lands of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. There was no way to induce them to make the venture, so the lieutenant colonel tells me. They contented themselves with sending long messages by Mr. Ballew which, with several others from the Chickasaws and Cherokees, might determine these Indians to suspend all hostilities until the verification of the peace which they see that Your Lordship and all their neighbors are interested in having them accept. In the same council the principal chief of the town of Cossitas begged me to read to them a message he had received a few days before from the governor of St. Augustine asking satisfaction for the depredations committed by the Lower Creeks on the settlements in Spanish territory near the St. Marys River. They promised me that they would take measures so that the slaves as well as animals which had been stolen, would be delivered to Mr. Leslie at St. Marks to be returned to their owners. The delinquents in these robberies are the same who committed the murders and sacking of the store of the agent of the United States, Mr. Seagrove. They are also called to account by that agent to give satisfaction for their crimes, and it appears that the Indians are disposed to concede it in full.

Having deliberated in this same assembly on this point, it was determined that the half-breed John Golfin should be punished by death, and as many others of his party as persons killed by them in the State of Georgia. The letter of the abovementioned agent, directed to the chiefs, Mad Dog, Taskiniatky, the half-breeds Alejandro, and David Cornell, and the white traders, Charles Wetherford and Josef Cornell, was read in my presence. The agent complained much of the conduct of the Creeks towards the subjects of



the United States and their failure punctually to fulfill the treaty which they have with the Americans. All of this he attributes to the counsels of evil-intentioned whites whom they permit to live among them, and whom he asks them to eject from their lands if they wish to preserve his friendship. He ends by saying that he gives them thirty-five days from the day of the public reading of his letter for a reply and fulfillment of the satisfaction which he demands in the name of the President of Congress. If they fail in this, the most serious steps would be taken.

I have noted in the manner and conduct of some chiefs, as well as of whites who trade in that nation, that they have some understanding with the agent mentioned. He promises to go there after they have complied with his petition and have promised to live in peace with the United States. This has been promised by the chiefs, according to what I have heard, and some Indians were to go to St. Marys to seek the said agent. I am convinced that his coming to the nation will be with the object of negotiating the projected treaty of commerce which I believe can be prevented with difficulty, according to the disposition which I see among the Indians to accept it. Furthermore, there is no lack among the traders of some who will cause them to perceive the advantages which may be promised from it. It will injure the house of Panton, about whom there is general complaint on account of the dearness of his merchandise, the prices of which they say he has raised again—and it is particularly the work of some ill-intentioned persons in revenge for the act of Panton in using the authority of our government to force them to fulfill their obligations when he was not able to accomplish this in any other way. I am informed that Panton is to come to the nation. I am waiting him momentarily in order to confer with him in regard to the most feasible means to forestall this change in the commerce of the nation.

Before the council I had several conferences in private with Mad Dog through the medium of the abovementioned Joseph Cornell in regard to Your Lordship's intention to give him and Chief Kiskilasky, whom you mention in official letter of April 19, the rank of colonel and some annual pension if they could lead the rest of the nation to join in the execution of the plan to unite the four nations in a defensive alliance under the protection of Spain, as well as the establishment of a permanent congress, etc. All of this appeared to please him, and he perceived that the execution of such a plan could not do less than result in great benefits to these nations. He believed that all of them would realize it the same as he had as soon as he should speak to them about it. In respect to the rank of colonel and the annual pension offered by Your Lordship for him and Kiskilasky, the chief of the town of Cusitas, he said

it also seemed good to him, but that he ought to remark that they were not the only ones who should be distinguished. This distinction might cause some jealousy among the other principal chiefs of the five parts of which the nation is composed—the Talapoosas, Abecuches, Upper Creeks, Alibamons, and the Lower Creeks. The last named is very extensive, and in it the aforesaid has no other importance than what his nation wishes to give him. He is a man who could be grand chief of the town of Cusitas if he had not abandoned it over ten years before to go to live with the Cherokee nation. His place is now occupied by a brother or other relative of his.

There are in addition to the chiefs of those parts, the chief of the town of Cossistas and that of the middle Talapoosas, who are also men of much consideration and not less worthy of the recommendation of Your Lordship. The first mentioned is a relative of McGillivray. He also spoke to me of another relative of the latter, the chief of the warriors of the town of Hickory Ground, a half-breed who accompanied him on his last journey to New Orleans, whom he called "brother" and who is a favorite of his. I know all of these chiefs very well and I think it proper to present this matter to Your Lordship beforehand, so that you may have the opportunity to decide upon the favors which you may wish to dispense to those men with a knowledge of their number and qualifications. This may take effect, if Your Lordship prefers it, at the time of or after the projected assembly. I shall send to Your Lordship at that time a list of those chiefs according to the preference which ought to be given to them in proportion to the influence they have in the nation.

These Indians do not show themselves at all disposed to advance Mr. Milford to the office or title which McGillivray held among them. I have heard that he has written to Your Lordship that they had already elected him, but this never existed anywhere except in his head. This was the cause of some debates between him and me, during which I have been under the necessity of telling him Your Lordship's intentions in this matter and my way of thinking, in order to make him understand the independence which the commissioners of His Majesty ought to preserve in this nation. It seems that he believed that he was already authorized to conduct himself as a little sovereign. This came to the attention of the Indians, and I believe was the reason why they expressed themselves plainly to me in the assembly, telling me clearly that they respected Mr. Milford as a man who had lived among them many years and who had been employed by McGillivray on some commissions with the Indians in which he merited the title or name of *Tostanakey*, which signifies warrior. They said that they regarded him in that

light, and would allow him to remain among them as long as he wished. They stated that they had been told that he was employed by the government, which was very good, and, if Your Lordship desired to give him a commission, they would attend to whatever he told them conducive to the good of the nation. This was an allusion to the order which he holds from Your Lordship to arrest the agent of the Americans and send him as a prisoner to some one of our posts. They have not liked the order at all, and I greatly doubt that they would permit it to be carried out if anyone should attempt it.

These Indians are well governed with the assistance of the advice of the whites who have lived among them almost since infancy, and by whom I perceive they are guided more every day. Among these I count the aforesaid Cornell who I shall not assert would be incapable of giving them bad advice, but it is known to me that his counsels have the greatest influence, since he is the best interpreter they have had and the one in whom McGillivray had the most confidence. This man has shown himself to be very attentive since I returned to the nation. He informed me that he would gladly accept the salary of interpreter if the government would give him one equal to that received by Antonio Garcon. This fact, together with the mania which has taken hold of the Indians not to allow me to speak to them except through his interpretation, has caused me, although with some hesitation, to avail myself of him for the council and on other occasions which have occurred to me. He adds to his conditions that he shall not be obliged to reside in the nation, as he prefers to remain in his house on the Little River, where he says he would be ready whenever assemblies are convoked in which important matters will be treated. In such case the commissioner will call him, or perhaps a despatch boat will be sent to him from Orleans to deliver to him the letters for him to take them himself to the nation when their importance requires it. He offers to send them on other occasions, when this duty would be discharged by a half-breed nephew of his who speaks English passably and his own language perfectly. Up to now I cannot imagine what the reasons can be for his not wishing to live in the nation. However, it would certainly result in our favor for him to keep his family and slaves in his house, which at present I believe is in the district of Tensaw on the other side of the aforesaid river, a situation which ought in some manner to attract him to us. I told him that this circumstance of not residing in the nation seemed to me a great obstacle against Your Lordship's granting his petition, but that, nevertheless, I would present it to you, since he seemed to desire it. It is very necessary to us to win over

this man who I know can be very useful to us if he wishes to be loyal in the fulfillment of his duty.

Being surprised at the tenacity of the Indians in wishing that no other but Joseph Cornell should interpret what I had to say to them, I asked what were their reasons for it. They replied that they had several. First, that he understood and spoke their language better than anyone. Second, that they wished to avoid what had happened last year with the interpreter Antonio Garcon at Pensacola when they went for the munitions. They declare that his method of interpreting what the governor said to them is the cause of all the bad acts they have committed against the whites in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, and in the district of Natchez. They assure me that the same would have happened to the inhabitants of Tombecbé had it not been that the first party which had set out against that settlement as a result of what Don Arturo O'Neill had told them were accidentally met on the road from Pensacola by McGillivray and Cornell. They were dissuaded from their purpose by these men, who assured them that it could not have been the intention of Señor O'Neill to tell them to go and do damage to the inhabitants referred to, for they were on territory of the Spaniards, who protected them and regarded them as Spaniards. The incident caused them to believe that the interpreter who had told them what the governor said had misunderstood it.

This difference which the Indians find in the messages given to them causes them the greatest distrust, for they do not know which to believe when they see the slightest difference in what is told them. This does not add to the credit of the commissioner and exposes him very much, since he is the first and nearest at hand upon whom to cast the blame for the results of their acts, and since the last named are not at all laudable, I am not without anxiety. In addition, someone has forged the calumny that the death of McGillivray, which occurred in Pensacola, was caused by poison given him by the Spaniards. The story is beginning to cause uneasiness among his relatives and may lead them sooner or later to commit some attempt to obtain satisfaction. This is the custom among these Indians in such cases, without further proof than the suspicions originated by a report of this nature. Of this I have several examples, for it is known to me that in order to put their vengeance into effect nothing more is needed than for some relative to start the story on a day when he is touched with liquor.

Notwithstanding that I have not succeeded in getting the Creeks to go at the time of the gathering for the ball game, I propose to set to work immediately on the statements of the provisions and goods which are most necessary for the annual presents to this nation. It seems to me that, if it is determined that they are to be given in the nations themselves, it will be better that they shall

come all at once for the whole year for this purpose, unless you think it will be a risk. The route by Mobile and the Alabama River is the least expensive, but the latter is not practicable for the lighters necessary to transport them except from the middle of April until the middle of September. The rest of the year the water is either too high or too low for the navigation of these lighters. I will also give some idea about these lighters to the commandant of Mobile as a result of the experience I have acquired in the voyage which I have just made by the river named. Likewise I shall explain how to maintain a safe correspondence, which is easy by keeping two or three men here, with a medium salary, destined for this purpose, who would also be useful for the distribution of the presents and care of the storehouse which in this case it will be indispensable to have.

On the 12th of this month I informed Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan de Lavillebeuvre, by the Choctaw chief named Taboca who came on an embassy to this nation with messages of peace, of what small success I have had in my requests to the Creeks to go at the time of the assembly of the ball game. I informed him also of the reasons which they alleged for not going and the promise they made me to go if the said council were transferred to old Tombeché for the middle of September of this present year. Of all this I ask him to inform the governor of Natchez, sending him a copy of my letters, feeling sure that by that means he will receive this news more promptly.

He has asked me to beg Your Lordship to make him a present of a riding saddle, which I promised would be given to him at Pensacola whenever he wishes to send for it. I also gave him a letter for the governor of that town.

May God keep Your Lordship many years.

TOWN OF MONGULACHA, *June 11, 1793.*

PEDRO OLIVIER (Rubric)

POSTSCRIPT. Before my arrival there were some Indians here from the north with messages sent to these Indians asking them to join with the former to make war on the Americans. They were very badly received in the town of Tokepathe, and threatened with death if they should insist further on this request. A report is current here that the deputies of congress to the court of Spain have retired without having settled the boundaries which were in litigation between our court and the United States, and that the latter are preparing to take possession of the territory to which they claim the right.

Señor Governor BARON DE CARONDELET

(Note) To the captain general in official letter No. 393 dated July 31.

## WHITE TO CARONDELET

*June 11, 1793*<sup>108</sup>

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR AND SIR: Yesterday six Indians arrived with the enclosed letter for Your Lordship. Milford writes me that he would make them go to Orleans with it, but not seeing that this is necessary I am sending it by the Patron Lacasta. Milford's letter is dated the 2nd of this month. He says: "The letter is of great importance, and it is necessary that a reply be made immediately. In three days we are going to hold a council to see what are the orders of Monsieur le Baron. Two messengers from the Chickasaw nation are here to demand peace from us, and we are going to grant it to them."

This is all that I have at present to communicate to Your Lordship, whose life may Our Lord keep many happy years.

PENSACOLA, *June 11, 1793.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most attentive, obedient servant,

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

## WHITE TO CARONDELET

*June 12, 1793*<sup>109</sup>

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: Yesterday afternoon twelve Indian men and four women arrived, bringing a letter from Don Pedro Olivier, which I shall copy for Your Lordship. In consequence, I have had to order provisions given to the Indians for their return and some other presents.

"From the Creek nation, May 19, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR AND BELOVED COMMANDANT: I came ahead to this destination, after leaving at a short distance from the first village of the Alibamons the launch in which I came up the river, in order to make arrangements to send provisions to its crew. They then had only enough food to last for a few days, and not sufficient for the time which I consider they would still take to reach here. I had scarcely arrived when the Indian bearer of this letter asked me for it. With ten others he was on his way, under the pretext of taking some scalps to the governor of Pensacola. They told me he had ordered them to go and kill Americans. Their object is only to get some presents, from which I tried to dissuade them, telling them it was not necessary for them to make this journey. I assured them

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<sup>108</sup> BL.

<sup>109</sup> BL.

that the governor of Pensacola would not accept the scalps for, notwithstanding what they told me, that was not the meaning of the words which he had spoken to them. But, as they kept on insisting that they wished to go see the governor also to obtain a little powder, ball, and brandy, I was of the opinion that I ought not to refuse entirely what they asked of me, although I am informed that they belong to the worst rabble in the whole nation. This comes from their having as chief in their village a very near relative of the deceased,<sup>110</sup> and the worst rascal known among the people of this nation. Having by this letter an opportunity to give information (although not officially) of my fortunate arrival and to place myself at your disposition, I am taking advantage of it, and beg you to command me in whatever may please you.

P. S. These Indians are taking some muskets to be repaired, not being able to wait for the armorer to arrive and be in a state to make the repairs."

Seeing that Olivier has not written you on this occasion, I thought I ought to communicate to you what he tells me. I remain at Your Lordship's disposition, and pray God to keep your life many happy years.

PENSACOLA, *June 12, 1793.*

Your most appreciative and attentive servant kisses Your Lordship's hand.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

CARONDELET TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*June 17, 1793* <sup>111</sup>

(*Answer*)

I have acquainted myself with the contents of official letter No. 3 in regard to the projected assembly of the nations, which Your Lordship sent me, dated the 8th of the current June, with its nine documents. I am of the opinion that the determination which Your Lordship has taken to avoid as far as possible giving arms and munitions to the Chickasaws while they persist in making war on the Creek nation is very sensible. However everything that you communicate to me and my information from the commissioners of the King in the Creek and Chickasaw nations agree that peace will be concluded immediately.

The King's commissioner, Don Juan de Villebeuvre, writes me that Ogoulayacabe and the other Chickasaw chiefs make known that

<sup>110</sup> Alexander McGillivray.

<sup>111</sup> BL.

they owe their lives to me. When some 800 Talapoosas were ready to fall upon them and their towns, which were almost deserted on account of the absence of a great part of the inhabitants at Ecores à Margot with Payemingo in search of the maize Robertson was sending them, the Talapoosas were stopped by the messages which I sent to the nation advising them to make peace. Thus, instead of falling upon the Chickasaw nation, they contented themselves with sending two of their number with an offer of peace which was immediately accepted.

I have arrived in advance of the receipt of the aforesaid official letter to Commissioners Don Juan la Villebeuvre and Don Pedro Olivier ordering the principal chiefs to prepare to go to the assembly at Yazoo as soon as Your Lordship designates them or makes known the time fixed for their meeting so that everything will be ready in those nations for this purpose as soon as the said notification arrives.

It will be well to arrange things in such a way that Bloody Fellow and the other Cherokee chiefs who are waiting momentarily can attend the assembly. Since that nation is ready to put itself under the protection of His Majesty and perhaps to break off entirely connections with the United States, it is very possible that it might enter into the general alliance and ask to be permitted to maintain three deputies in the permanent congress the same as the rest. This might be granted with the necessary modifications, so that the United States could not interpret it as an evident infraction of the good harmony which they apparently maintain with Spain, in case this harmony still exists at that time between the two powers. If, on the contrary, they end by manifesting their hostile intentions, we can draw all the advantage provided us by the situation of that valourous nation which protects part of the banks of the Mississippi and our settlements on the Chickasaw and Mobile rivers.

The pretended Treaty of Hopewell is greatly boasted of by the Americans who concluded it without paying attention to the fact that the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, who have been our allies for years, should not have been solicited. Since in a certain manner they were wheedled by them, the treaty will serve as a reply to any complaints that may be made by the United States against this new alliance with the Cherokee nation. This treaty is feared by them to such an extent that Governor Blount has offered five hundred pesos for the head of McDonald, a trader who is highly regarded in this nation, solely because he had advised those chiefs to direct to His Majesty their complaints against the extortions of the brigadier mentioned, so that His Majesty might mediate in their favor with the congress. This was done, nevertheless, in such a manner that I am awaiting the decision of the King regarding this particular.



The report which Your Lordship tells me you have received from W——— concerning the necessity of fortifying our frontiers proves with evidence how well-founded are my suspicions of the sinister designs of the United States against these dominions of His Majesty, which the war with the nations of the north has compelled them to postpone, but which the engagement of Spain with France may perhaps precipitate.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 17, 1793.*

BARON DE CARONDELET

SEÑOR DON MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

WHITE TO CARONDELET

*July 4, 1793*<sup>112</sup>

PENSACOLA, *July 4, 1793.*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: On the first of the current month Bautista Cors arrived and delivered to me Your Lordship's letter of the 29th of May. On the same day I sent by the Cherokee Indians the letters which you sent me for MacDonald, Olivier, Milford, and Panton. The last named set out on the 29th of June to make a trip through the nation, telling me he would be absent about a month. To the Cherokees I gave provisions for their journey and some presents.

I will give Bautista four swivel guns, and before he returns to Orleans he will have to go to Apalache with provisions.

The barracks and other buildings need repairs, but for the present this work is not imperative, other works being more necessary, for example the battery of Santa Rosa, where I was yesterday and did not find the work as far advanced as I desired, only three embrasures being finished. It is true that all last month the weather was very bad, and for many days it was not possible to go beyond the Barrancas. On this side the trees are being cut, and these are quite far from the beach. The workmen are also very lazy, especially one Armas, a ship's carpenter of the launches, whose salary I have ordered not to be paid for the four days when he did not work. It will be better for Your Lordship to send another in his place; the pay is fixed at two pesos monthly.

The battery is to be oval-shaped at the back in order to diminish the enclosure, according to your instructions. The artillery officer assures me that the parapet is thick enough, and I share his opinion because of the strong resistance of the logs. The one for three cannon near the barracks is finished, but to wall in the enclosure will cost

much more than the 400 or 500 pesos which Your Lordship mentions. Besides this, if workmen do not come from Orleans, a long time will be needed to finish it, for here there are neither men nor wagons.

For the rest, I will observe Your Lordship's orders concerning Durouzeaux, Milford, and the Indians. In the letter which Your Lordship sends unsealed to me for Milford, dated June 19, you tell him that you have sent an order to Pensacola for him to be paid the 190 pesos which he had spent, and the 500 which Your Lordship had promised him last year; but in no part do I find that Your Lordship had given me this order. I will send the letter to him sealed, and also the last one which you sent me for Olivier, by the Indians who yesterday brought me one from him informing me of the death of Mr. Bellew, of which I shall make an official copy for Your Lordship. In the house of Panton there is not a single musket for trading. In our storehouse we have twenty-four good ones and six which need repairing. These are at Your Lordship's disposal.

The messenger who brought the letter from Milford returned immediately; and so by the chief of Fustache, who brought the last letter from Olivier, I am sending to him the saddle and bridle which Your Lordship has ordered to be presented to Mad Dog on your behalf. It costs twelve pesos.

Since all the official letters from Your Lordship have arrived almost at the same time, although they come by different boats, there is a great deal to do, and so I conclude by praying our Lord to keep your life many happy years. I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most attentive, obedient servant,

ENRIQUE WHITE.

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

SEAGROVE TO CORNELL

*July 5, 1793*<sup>113</sup>

ST. MARYS 5 *July 1793*

DEAR BROTHER: I now take up my pen to describe to you an unfortunate affair to you as well as to me, and I fear also to our respective Countrys it is as follows—on the Second Day of this Month McDonald arrived at the Station at Colerain and informd Cap<sup>t</sup> Randolph the Commanding Officer, that he was from the Nation with dispatches from you and the Chiefs. He was kindly received, and after some time gave the people to understand that four Indians came with him part of the way— That he had come ahead of them

<sup>113</sup> BL, (English).

———— but as they delayd so long behind he concluded they had been followed by a runner & turnd back, he gave as his reason for this Opinion that by this time it was a General War in the Nation and no hopes of peace or Satisfaction being given— This alarmd the Officers and Men upon which McDonald was askd for the letters when he answerd that an Indian had them all that was one of the party—

Cap<sup>t</sup> Randolph then ordred McDonald to go immediately out and meet the Indians—he went some distance and returnd—and a Scout of Seven Men who were out from Colerain unfortunately fell in with four Indians on Horseback with Guns, and not knowing them to be friends rode up briskly towards them on which the Indians, Set up a hoop & run— The Horsemen pursued and being better mounted came up with them on which the Indians dismounted and took to Trees—one of them Snapd his Gun several times, which Convinced the white People that they were Enemys—upon this they fired and Soon killd all four of the Red People—on examining the Letters and papers it was found they were our friends and what adds exceedingly to the Pain and distress of myself and every body here is that our good young friend & brother David Cornell is among them that fell—

This my Dear Alexander is the most distressing thing I ever met with in my Life—to think of friends falling by the hands of friends through a Cursed Mistake is bad indeed—but it is now too late to be prevented—we therefore as friends and brothers must make the best of it—and not Suffer it to involve us in further trouble.

This unfortunate affair has arose from the Stupidity or Villany of McDonald, who I shall keep a prisoner until the whole is cleard up— I have only to Say my friend for your and the other Relations and friends of the Deceased—That full Satisfaction Shall be made agreeable to the treaty of New York—And I have now to intreat of yourself, the Mad Dogg, White Lieutenant, your Unkle Joseph Cornell, and all other concernd, not to alter their good opinion of us on account of this accident, or to take any hasty measures in consequence as it is my determination to Satisfy you fully on this business— The Horses and other property belonging to these People Killd I have taken into my possession and they Shall be returnd to their friends as Soon as the path is clear— To Convince you my friend that it is not our wish to hurt any of the Indians who are our friends there is now with me at this place Eight Indians—Seven of them Cussetahs and one Chochaw who have been here a month Eating and Drinking as they please & walking about my house— They were found on this frontier and brought in and as there is a great many Partys of bad people out and as it was expected Troops

would go into the Nation to punish the bad Towns—I advisd those people to Stay with me which they have done and are very happy—

Our Great father General Washington has forbid the Governor of Georgia or any of his people going into the Creek land to war until I have your final Answer— This is the cause of the Troops that had crossd the Oconee being ordered back.

Remember my friend that when the Red People Killd Cap<sup>t</sup>. Fleming and the rest of our people we did not take any hasty or rash measure tho' the provocation was great—but Sent to you for Satisfaction and have waited now four moons without doing anything. I hope you will consider this and act as we have done—

Had not our friend Davy been killd I Should Certainly have come up with him agreeable to request—

You have allways been our good friend and I hope you will continue to Give your Unkle a good Talk from me and tell him he will find me a better friend to him and his family than even Gen<sup>l</sup>. McGillivray was—and that he Shall have every justice done him.

Depending on your friendship I remain your brother

J<sup>s</sup>. SEAGROVE Agt.In<sup>d</sup> Affs S D U S

MR. ALEXANDER CORNELL, Tuckabachee

N. B. There is an extraordinary Circumstance attending the death of your Cousin David which is—That the very man who killd him is a brother of a man of the Name of Hampton who Davy killd last winter on the frontier of Cumberland— This is a truth you may depend on and took place by accident. J S

#### WHITE TO CARONDELET

*July 6, 1793*<sup>114</sup>

Having been shown by the house of Panton the report of the conference held by the Indians to treat of peace, I made the accompanying copy which I enclose to Your Lordship for your information.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, *July 6, 1793*.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

INHABITANTS OF SPANISH ILLINOIS  
TO THE KING*July 7, 1793*<sup>115</sup>

TO THE KING

SIRE

From the ends of the earth, in the midst of the barbarians, a people that reveres its Prince and its Monarch dares to raise its eyes unto the steps of the throne and is so bold as to let him hear its plea.

Yes, SIRE, at all times swayed by a sense of duty, we have always been proud to walk in the paths of obedience. Our love and our respect for our Prince, for the safety and the prosperity of his possessions, will always be for us the most irrefutable proofs of our veneration.

But, SIRE, at the moment when our hearts reveal themselves to you, at the moment when our souls are about to disclose the tender feelings they hold towards you, we also come to place at YOUR MAJESTY'S feet our anxieties and our fears.

Long suffering under the weight of sorrow, we have borne this load and this pain with patience. But today, when we are living under serene skies<sup>A</sup>; today, when a golden age stolen by the antiquity of the centuries from human knowledge begins to open up the pleasant doors of its temple in order to hold sway among us; today, SIRE, all your faithful subjects in this province beg of your august bounty for the permanent enjoyment of such a rare gift.

The chief who governs us here<sup>B</sup>, he whom the general government has been so wise as to select in order to bring to us the influence of your wisdom, your justice and your goodness, is today the reason why we are floating between a sinister fear and a sweet hope.

Yes, SIRE, if the people which reveres you as its monarch and its King is of any importance at all in the eyes of YOUR MAJESTY; if you love your faithful subjects; if you love the one who governs in your name; if you love him who loves you also; if you love him who, through his prudence, his disinterestedness and his goodness, is causing us to cherish our Monarch; yes, SIRE, you will not hesitate to seal forever with your grace the perpetual stay of a chief whom we cannot bear to be separated from without falling into a perplexity and a sorrow to which we cannot but succumb.

These, SIRE, are desires that are important for the happiness and prosperity of your faithful subjects in Illinois. If these subjects are fortunate enough to deserve from your Majesty this single benevolent glance, what thanks and what gratitude will they not render God!

<sup>115</sup> BL, (French).

A. Le Baron de Carondelet, Governor of this Province.

B. Monsieur Zenon Trudeau, Commandant in Chief of the Illinois.

SIRE, may these same people make manifest to you, through the great soul of the chief<sup>c</sup> who guides us today, the extent of our submission, our duty and our obedience.

But may this chief whom we love occupy in your august memory the place which belongs to his rare qualities.

It will be for him and for us an imperishable monument of your majestic favors.

It is with unalterable sentiments of tenderness, duty, respect, and submission, that your faithful inviolable subjects of the province of Illinois on the Mississippi River take the liberty of calling themselves,

---

C. Monsieur Zenon Trudeau, our Commandant.

SIRE, OF YOUR AUGUST MAJESTY,  
THE MOST ZEALOUS, THE MOST SUBMISSIVE, AND  
THE MOST FAITHFUL OF YOUR SUBJECTS.

St. Louis of Illinois on the  
Mississippi River, Province  
of Louisiana, July 7, 1793.

A. REILHE (Rubric), JACQUES CLAMORGAN (Rubric) JH. ROBIDOUX (Rubric) GRE. SAPPY (Rubric), CHAUVIN, P.  
GENGEMBE (Rubric), J. DUBREUIL (Rubric), MARIE, DUBREUIL, FILS, GUL. HEBERT (Rubric) BENTURA COLLELL  
(Rubric), OHLES, SANGUINET, HIAEIN THE EGLIZ (Rubric) LAURENT DUROCHER (Rubric) MONTARDY, J. DUBUQUE  
(Rubric) LAFARGUE (Rubric), J. BT. TRUDEAU, PAQUET, LADOUSEUR, GABRIEL LACHANSE.

BAPTIST SOULE

Mark of + BOURGUIGNON	Mark of + LA BORY	Mark of + BEOQUET	Mark of + NICOLAS ROY	Mark of + DELAURIER
Mark of + JULIEN ROY	Mark of + P. GABRIEL	Mark of + AUG. GABRIEL	Mark of + JOS. VERDON	
Mark of + J. N. BAUDOIN	Mark of + SANS SOUCI	Mark of + LOUIS MENAR FRCO. DUCHOUQUET	Mark of + BTE. MARLY	Mark of + JH. TAYON
Mark of + LOUIS DELILE JOSEPH LABADIE	LUC MARLY DENIS CAVANAGH	Mark of + PIERRE DECARY	Mark of + ANTOINE LANDOIS	
Mark of + GAB. GAUCHER	Mark of + AIMEL, BUAÏTE	Mark of + JOSEPH MORIN	Mark of + LA LANDE	

EUSTACHE + TAYON	BAPTISTE LADEROUTE	HONORE,	JAKUES LONDE (Rubric)
Mark of + HENRI DUCHOUQUETTE	MICHEL + MERTIN		Mark of + DUMOND
BAPTISTE + JOYEUSE	ANTOINE + BELETRE	PHILIPPE + BACCANE	PIERRE QUENEL
JEAN BTE. + CHARLEVILL	ST. MOIN	Mark of + LOUIS BARDA	Mark of + DU FOUR
Mark of + CHORETTE	Mark of + JH. HÉBERT	LRT. LAJOYE (Rubric) <i>fls</i>	
CHARLES + LADROIT	FRANCOIS + GIRARD	JH. LAMY (Rubric)	
NICOLAS + SAUVAJE	PAUL + BOUDOIN	[Illegible] —DETOGE	
JH. BRAZEAU, HYACINT + ST. CYR	L. BRAZEAU (Rubric), JH. + MOLERRE	ORTES (Rubric), ANT. + DEHETRE,	C. YOSTI (Rubric) N. + LECOMTE,
FC. VALOIS (Rubric)	J. GILBERT	VINCENT (Rubric)	



Mark of + CHARLES MINVILLE	JOSEPH CHAARLEIN (Rubric)	Mark of +
Mark of + DROUIN	PR. RIGAUCH (Rubric)	FS. BARIBO
Mark of + ST. AUBIN	Mark of + DE LA CHAPELE	Mark of + DE LA FLEUR
Mark of + -----	Mark of + -----	
	Mark of + LS. BOULAIS	GASPD, ROUBIEU (Rubric)
Mark of + CHAS. FORTIER	LE DRU, Miss, Curé (Rubric)	CERRE (Rubric)
J. B. LACROIX (Rubric)	REYNAL,	STRE. LABBADIE (Rubric)
AUGTE. CHOUTEAU (Rubric)		LA PLESSIS BELLAIN (Rubric)

*Village of St. Ferdinand.*

COUDER			
FRANCOIS	ANTOINE	CHARLES	AMABLE
+	+	+	+
MORO	BACCANE	MERTIN	MENARD
JEAN	CLAUDE	ANTOINE	FRANC. LOUIS
+	+	+	
MALHEUR	PANNETON	MARECHAL	MARY (Rubric)
NOEL	JOSEPH		JOSEPH
+	+		+
BRUNET	PIERRE	COUDER	RIVET
AMABLE	JOSEPH	LOUIS	LOUIS
+	+	+	+
GAGNE	DE LORIEUR	DUBREUIL	LIRETTE

824011	HUBERT + TABEAU	LOUIS + RENAUD	LOUIS + AVRAY	JOSEPH + LAMER	FRANCOIS + MARECHAL
49	TOUSSAINT + PARENT	FRANCOIS + CORNAUD	SIMON + COUSET	BACCANE + Father	PIERRE + SAVOIE
15	JPH. + MOTARD	JOSEPH + CALVE	HIPPOLITE + FARNOIS	HYACINTE + DEHETRE	FRANCOIS + MENARD
	LOUIS + MORIN	LAURENT + LE FEAVRE	LOUIS + LABROSSE	CALVE + Son	JACQUES + MARECHAL
	BTE. + DELISLE	BTE + MARLY	<hr/> RIVARD	JOSEPH + MARECHAL	JOSEPH + RENAUD
	PIERRE + RENAUD	LOUIS + DELISLE	<hr/> [Illegible]	JOSEPH + BACCANE	
	PIERRE + MOREAU	JOSEPH + MOREAU	<hr/> [Illegible]	DE LA FOUDREY	BTE + DEROGIER

## FRANCOIS DUNEGAN, Civil commandant.

*Village of St. Charles*

JOSEPH	AMABLE	FLEURY	ANTOINE	ANTOINE
+	+	+	+	+
BEAUCHAMPS	CHARTRAIN	PRESIER	LA MARCHIE	GAUTIER
PIERRE	FRANCOIS	PIERRE	JOSEPH	FRANCOIS
+	+	+	+	+
BISSONET	RIBARD	YVOND	LAMARCHE	POSTIN
LOUIS	BTE	CHARLES	THOMAS	AUGUSTIN
+	+	+	+	+
RIARRE	RENAUD	CARDINAL	VOLSY	LECOMBE
LOUIS	ALEXIS	BTE.	PIERRE	NICOLAS
+	+	+	+	+
HUNAU	VALLE	BRUCIERE	PRESIER	SANCARTIER
JOSEPH	ETIENNE	NICOLAS	GABRIEL	PAUL
+	+	+	+	+
LA ROCHELLE	FAY	RIVARD	MELILLE	DUNOYER
ISYDRE	JEAN MAR	[illegible]	PIERRE ROY	ROBERT
+	+	+		
SAVOYE	BISSONET	CHENAULT		
Mde. WIDOW	NICOLAS	LAURENT	PIERRE	LOUIS
+	+	+	+	+
ROY	CONNS	MICHEN	CHALIFOR	[illegible]
JEAN	J. BTE	BTE.	LOUIS	PIERRE
+	+	+	+	+
BAUDOIN	BILAND	BRUNOT	LEMONDE	LOIZELL

BTE +	LOUIS +	BTE. +	CHARLES +	JEAN +
PETIT	LONGEVILLE	GREZAT	VALLÉ	VALLÉ
JOSEPH +	BTE. +	-----	LOUIS +	JOSEPH +
DENOYER	DESHOMET	[Illegible]	SANNETAU	MARCHAND
JOSEPH +	-----	LOUIS +	FRANCOIS +	GABRIEL +
LANGLOIS	[Illegible]	BRUNOT	TOUSSAINT	COTE
MICHEL +	[Illegible] +	JACQUES +	JOSEPH +	MICHEL +
GARENVILLE	LAFORÊT	GERVAIS	CADIEN	PRITARD
JOSEPH +	JOSEPH +	THOMAS +	ETIENNE +	PHILIPPE +
FORETIER	DAUVILLE	LENETIER	PASSEROU	GERVAIS
JOSEPH +	JOSEPH +	JOSEPH +	JEAN +	PIERRE +
DORLAC	TIBAUD	GERVAIS	MALBOEUF	BLANCHETTE
P. GAGNON (Rubric)			Mark of Captain +	
P. J. DIDIER (Rubric)			BLANCHE, commandant of militia	
Mrs. Curé				

*Village of St. Philippe*

DELOR	CAR. LEROY	CHARLES ALLEN,	CHRISTOPHER
LUIS CATALAN	JO. BOLSEY	SCHULTZ	
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +
JN. CHOQUET	[illegible]	AMBL. CHARTRAN	LE PERAU
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	
LOISE	BPT. GAMACHE	CH. TREGER	
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +
ANT. DONIN	FCO. HONORÉ	GABRIEL HUNAU	PTE. MARTIN
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +
JH. MOGUE	J <sup>re</sup> . HUNAU	BTE. DECLOS	LS. COURTOIS
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +
BTE. GAMACHE	AUGT. GAMACHE	PAUL LADOUcier	LS. DENOYE
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +
FCOI. DENOYE	LS. MOGUE	BTE DAUPHIN	ALEXIS LOISE
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +
PAUL LOISE	GRAVAR	[illegible]	PHILPE
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +
CHRISTOPH	TOTGE	GABRIEL CONSTAN	CONSTAN
Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +	Mark of +
JH. LECOMTE	ALEXIS DEFOE	CH. ROBER	MEGARD
Mark of +	Mark of +		
INRI BOLSI	JN. CHOQUET		

## WHITE TO CARONDELET

*July 10, 1793*<sup>116</sup>PENSACOLA, *July 10, 1793.*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: It is five o'clock in the afternoon and at this moment, the Cherokee chief Talostoqui presented himself before me, bringing me a letter from Mr. Panton dated *Waters of Murder Creek*, July 4. Enclosed in it there is an extract from one written to him by MacDonald, of which I am sending Your Lordship a copy. Panton tells me that he is not writing to Your Lordship at present because he is very ill, but that he will do so when he arrives at the nation. He had received the letters which I sent after him. He says that the chief who bears his letter is recommended by MacDonald, and that it is indispensable that I shall give him presents. The last Indians who were sent to Pensacola on government affairs Panton had to support for two months, and afterwards to reward them for their work. It was true that in the end they were given a pound of rice daily from the royal storehouse, but that this is not sufficient for an Indian. I am to call this to the attention of Your Lordship, together with the fact that the English gave them a ration double that of a soldier.

I again place myself at the orders of Your Lordship.

Your most obedient, devoted servant, who kisses your hands.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

## PROPOSED TRADE REGULATIONS FOR SPANISH ILLINOIS

*July 20, 1793.*<sup>117</sup>*Regulations for the Illinois Trade*

I desire to establish permanent regulations which would be advantageous not only to the commerce but also to the general welfare of the people of Illinois, devoting to agriculture, the original source and the fundamental basis of the prosperity of any state, the manpower which is indispensable to it, and causing to profit from the Missouri trade the merchants of these settlements who are in a position to co-operate in the increase of that interesting branch of commerce. I desire that the farmer who is charged with feeding the businessman may receive through this increase in consumption, which is the result of the merchant's prosperity, a real benefit, so that all classes may enjoy without thwarting one another, a comfort which they are at present far from possessing. I have therefore re-

<sup>116</sup> BL.<sup>117</sup> BL, (French).

solved that the following plan should be submitted to all the interested parties and discussed in an assembly of the merchants by the commandant Don Zenon Trudeau.

After taking the vote of everyone present as to each one of the proposed articles, he shall place in the margin next to each article the result of the vote and send the aforesaid plan back to me signed by all the voters regardless of their opinions and of any protest which individuals might make in the face of the majority decision.

*Art. I. Unanimously adopted.*

There will be counted as members of the commerce of St. Louis and its jurisdiction only those who are known to trade there and who have at least a year's residence and property, provided they trade directly or indirectly with the capital or with merchants living at New Orleans who are themselves engaged in the Illinois trade at the capital. This is to prevent a rich merchant in the jurisdiction of Illinois from establishing false storehouses for the sole purpose of profiting from as many posts as there are storehouses.

*Art. 2*

Permission to go or to send people to trade.

*Art. 3*

The trade expresses its humble gratitude to the general government.

*Article 1.*

There will be counted as members of the commerce of St. Louis and jurisdiction only those who have had at least one year's residence, and who have trade relationships with the merchants of New Orleans or with those who trade directly with the capital.

*Article 2.*

Permission to trade on the Missouri will not be granted to any inhabitants, hunters, traders, or *coureurs des bois* who do not fulfill the requirements prescribed in article one.

*Article 3.*

The entire trade of the Missouri shall belong to the merchants and traders of the city and its jurisdiction. None of them may be deprived of it by the commandant without well-founded evidence that the government interests are violated. This prohibition must be confirmed by the governor general of the province.



*Art. 4.*

The first of May instead of the first of July, so that the Illinois merchants may be able to send early enough to the distant posts.

Equivalent to each one of the others not counting the one which the commandant shall choose.

*Art. 6.*

*Within three days:* It is better to say "within the month of May" as changed in article 4.

*Immediately.* In case one or more of the merchants should forfeit the posts they receive, the syndic shall have them exploited for the benefit and at the expense of all.

*Article 4.*

On the first of July of each year the syndic shall summon all the members of the commerce or their representatives in order to divide amongst them, in accordance with article one, the Missouri trade on an equitable basis so that each interested party shall have a trading portion equivalent to each one of the others. The commandant shall not help nor interfere in the allotment of the trading portions, the number of which shall agree precisely with the number of those present.

*Article 5.*

Each trading portion shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the commandant who will be the only one privileged to select a portion which may suit him best, but who will not have the privilege of changing it afterwards.

*Article 6.*

The interested parties may exchange among themselves within three days the trading portions they have received by lot, after which time each person will be obliged to keep his portion and the trade syndic shall turn over to the commandant a general statement of the allotments. A duplicate of this signed by the syndic shall be sent as soon as possible to the governor general.

*Art. 7.*

After "shall give," insert "upon the invoice of the merchandise entering the Missouri there shall be the names of each employee, the signed approval of the syndic, the passports, etc."

*Article 7.*

The commandant shall give all necessary passports to the interested parties upon their request without being allowed to delay their dispatch. Each one shall pay to the commandant twenty five piastres a year for his privilege.

*Article 8.*

The trader receiving a post on the Missouri shall not trade with another under penalty of returning the furs to those to whom this post will have fallen by lot.

*Article 9.*

Whoever shall trade with an Indian nation after war has been declared on it, shall be imprisoned and sent to the capital. His property shall be confiscated, one third of it going to the royal treasury, one third to the informer, and the last third to the commandant.

*Art. 10. continued.*

Insert after "if there is none, to the treasury of the public works," "unless the dependency of Illinois is short of manpower. In that case the traders shall be authorized to hire foreigners so that agriculture shall not be deprived of men. The commandant shall be informed. He shall note the fact in the passports and shall permit it if he sees that no fraud is intended."

*Article 10.*

The traders shall not use in their Missouri expeditions foreign employees. This includes anybody with less than one year's residence in the jurisdiction of Illinois. The penalty shall be fifty piastres for each employee payable by the owner of the boat. One half of this fine shall go to the royal treasury, and the other half to the informer, or if there is none, to the treasury of the public works.

*Article 11.*

The trade syndic elected the first of each year by a plurality vote, shall not summon the

traders without written consent of the commandant, who shall not refuse it without very important cause of which he shall inform the governor general on the earliest possible occasion.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 20, 1793*

LE BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

Don Zenon Trudeau, commandant in chief of the western part of Illinois, by virtue of the orders of His Excellency, Monsieur le Baron de Carondelet, to call together the merchants of this city and communicate to them the plan of the general government for the exploitation of the Missouri trade, has required them to be assembled today at the seat of our government to deliberate upon each article of these regulations.

The assembled merchants put forward remarks, which we have placed in the margin opposite each article, with the request that we urge the general government to accept them as being in conformity with the general welfare.

At the same time we required the merchants gathered here to nominate a syndic. Mr. Clamorgan was unanimously elected.

As a consequence, the abovementioned syndic has proposed several articles in addition to the foregoing plan after causing them to be adopted in our presence by a great majority of the votes as being necessary to the safety of trade. We have the honor of submitting these articles to you as follows, so that you may be pleased to approve them.

*Article 12.*

No intoxicating beverages may be taken into the Missouri by anybody whomsoever for the purpose of trading, exchanging, or giving them to any individual, freeman or slave, under penalty of a fine of one hundred piastres, one third of which is to be given to the informer and the remainder placed at the discretion of the government.

*Article 13.*

Only one half of the salaries shall be advanced to the employees intended for the Missouri during their expeditions, under risk of losing the balance.

*Article 14.*

In posts where there are several traders, everyone of them shall be obliged to sell at the same price, in order not to spoil the Indians. These prices shall be determined before the trade is opened by the

majority of the traders located there. In case they are in even numbers in these posts, the older one, if there are only two, or the two older ones, if there are four or more, shall determine the trading prices. Those violating this regulation shall be liable to a fine of two hundred piastres, provided always that the majority is not in opposition, in which case it would rightfully prevail.

*Article 15.*

The traders or their representatives in the Missouri posts shall cease to trade among the nations where they are located beginning with July. They shall cease earlier if the traders of the following year appear at the posts before July.

*Article 16.*

The traders shall not sell any goods on the Missouri to any white, half-breed, or Indian directly for their own profit or that of these persons, or indirectly for the same purpose, under penalty of two hundred piastres fine for each person employed or equipped.

*Article 17.*

The traders may not employ as clerks, if they need any, other whites than the ones they have taken with them to the Missouri to exploit their allotted posts or parts thereof, under penalty of a fine or two hundred piastres for each individual employed in violation of this article.

*Article 18.*

It shall be forbidden to give to the hunters at the time of their departure and for the purposes of their journeys and their hunts, objects other than the ones necessary to their operations. These they shall not be able to sell, give, or exchange, in order to prevent illegal trading. The penalty for the violation of this provision is two hundred piastres for the equipper and as much for the hunter.

In order to prevent abuses, the merchant who shall equip the hunter shall make out two vouchers which he shall sign and submit to the syndic, who shall place his approval on them. One copy shall be left with the syndic and the other given to the hunter who shall present it to the commandant in order to obtain his passport.

*Article 19.*

The traders shall not be allowed to take with them into the Missouri as employees, Negroes, half-breeds, free or slave Indians. This is to help the work of the white men settled or who are going to be settled in the dependency and to prevent the subversive and bad influence the others may have on the Indians.

*Article 20.*

No person whatsoever shall receive, as a gift, in trade, or in exchange, from the nations of the Missouri, directly or indirectly, any horses that have been branded with a branding iron, so as not to induce the Indians to steal them from the whites. In case a horse has been traded, the owner of the brand shall have the right to claim it. In case there is no owner, the horse shall be sold and the proceeds allotted to the public works.

*Article 21.*

Since the general government has been pleased to give to the merchants of this jurisdiction exclusive property rights in the Missouri trade, it is most important for our interest that the Indians who reside in our land be absolutely forbidden from trading with the inhabitants of Arkansas. It is much more important for the safety of the traders, hunters, cultivators, and other individuals who are forced every day to be away from the city, that the Indians are not deprived of our help because otherwise we should force these Indians to seek it from strangers. In this case we should have everything to fear for the safety of our lives and our property.

*Article 22.*

In order to spare the government a great number of minor legal controversies, we request that there be named the first of each year two commissioners, one for the upper part and the other for the lower part of the city of St. Louis. They shall be empowered to settle and bring to an end the differences between private persons in cases involving up to ten piastres. They shall also assess up to any sum damages caused by the animals.

*Article 23.*

May it please the general government to allow the merchants of this place to make expeditions against all foreigners who shall establish themselves in our territory with merchandise for the purpose of trading with our Indians. We request that we be allowed to confiscate their goods or furs, to be allotted one half to the members of the expedition, and one half to the profit of the merchants as a whole, the costs to be assessed on all.

---

May it please the general government to permit the corps of merchants of this city of St. Louis to form a corporation under the name of "Company of Discoveries," which would be authorized for ten consecutive years to carry on in the upper part of Missouri above

the Indians known as Poncas, the full exploitation of all the Indian nations which it may meet, discover, or learn about. It would be headed by the trade syndic who would make all decisions in writing after the approval of the majority and communicate them to the commandant for his approval.

May it please the general government to crown its gifts by allowing the merchants of this place to secure from the English or American parts during this war all the objects necessary for the exploitation of the Missouri posts, since their scarcity and the peculiar circumstances make it difficult to obtain them at the capital. In order to assure the happiness of each merchant, it is requested that his demands be granted by the general government and sanctioned by permanent decree.

Done and passed in the government hall of the city of St. Louis of Illinois in the presence of all the merchants who signed with us on the 15th day of October, 1793, and of the administration of His Excellency the second year.

BENTURA COLLELL (Rubric)		PH GENGEMBRE (Rubric)
A. REILHE (Rubric)	J. MOTARD (Rubric)	JN LAVALLEE
JN. PAPIN (Rubric)	E. YOSTI (Rubric)	CHLE SANGUINET (Rubric)
JH. ROBIDOUX (Rubric)		BENITO VAZQUEZ (Rubric)
GRE SARPY (Rubric)		CERRE (Rubric)
ST. SIRE	GUILAUME HEBERT,	ANTOINE ROY
VINCENT (Rubric)		ANDREVILLE
JACQUES CLAMORGAN (Rubric)		LOUIS BONPARE (Rubric)
		DUBREUIL (Rubric)
ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)		

#### BLOODY FELLOW TO CARONDELET

*August 14, 1793*<sup>118</sup>

CHEROKEES *August 14th 1793*

*From the Bloody Fellow to His Great Friend His Excellency the Governor General of Louisiana.*

FRIEND & FATHER: You no doubt have heard of the barbarity committed on a number of our peacable people at the Hanging Maws—The Cherokees have done nothing to Justify Such conduct—We on our part have here determind to byd Still according to the promise we made you, & the advice we received from you—Since the affair of the Hanging Maws the Whites invade our Country three times

<sup>118</sup> BL, (English).

Successively and every time kill more or less of our Innocent women & helpless children in direct violation of every thing held secret among all Nations on Earth, no age or sex but what falls indiscriminately if they should fall in their way—the custom of killing of women & children were in a manner discontinued by the Cherokees & would be altogether abandoned, had not the Whites revived the custom by setting us this example afresh—

In consequence of these depredations (which is immaterial whither we consider as an act of State or the wanton cruelty of individuals since the state are too weak to punish such aggressions) we have gathered together in one of our principle Towns, head men from all parts of the Nation, do this day consult, & deliberate on the Measure we intend to pursue—our feeling are much wounded at the reflection on what we suffer unprovoked. In consideration of such repeated injuries we think it necessary to inform your Excellency of our determination which is to endeavour to pay the whites in their own kind, an expedition we were going to carry on, we mean to penetrate as far over the white peoples line, as the whites have done over our line—our army are to be headed by the Turpin, Kategiska & John Watts, three of the greatest Men in the Nation—at this meeting the Traders are requested to bring us Ammunition—on them we depend.—We hope & expect our Fathers the Spaniards will not refuse to furnish us with arms and ammunition according to promise to defend ourselves with—Such Traders as are requested to bring the public ammunition will have a written order for the same.

The Little Turkey will accompany the Traders down—he will take a trip to New Orleans & as he is aking & one of our beloved men I hope you will Speak your mind very freely to him The Turkey are a little doubtful of Some things I told him, which passed between your Excellency & me—take pains to explain things to him—If the State of the Nation will permit I promise myself the pleasure of seeing in the course of the fall, I will take my other son down when I come My other that is there I hope is well & hearty

With love & esteem I have the Hon<sup>r</sup>. to remain your faithful friend

BLOODY FELLOW

Commander in chief of the expedition.

His Excellency BARON OFF CARONDELET.

[Addressed:]

His Excellency BARON CARONDELET, Governor General of Louisiana  
&c &c.

By Express.

## WHITE TO CARONDELET

*August 17, 1793*<sup>119</sup>PENSACOLA, *August 17, 1793.*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: On the afternoon of the 15th I received Your Lordship's letters for Oliver and Milford, which I sent by a safe means the same afternoon, as Your Lordship advised, but not by an express messenger because no person can be found here fit for such a commission, with exception of the interpreter Garcon, whom I might need, on account of the Indians who come here every day.

To tell the truth I do not know what may be the best means of procedure in case the Georgians enter the Creek nation; because, if they force the Indians to retire, the latter will fall on our territories and we shall have to maintain them, or they will steal all the horses and cattle that they can find, and even attack us at night, perhaps in the town itself.

I shall write to Durouzeaux and tell him what Your Lordship advises. I shall send the letter by the principal chief of Talassee, who came yesterday with one from Oliver. With him were nine other Indians bringing many arms to be repaired; and while they are being repaired, I shall have to feed them.

Realizing that the squad corporals, chiefs of the detachment of Barrancas, were remiss in the fulfillment of their duty, I have ordered a sergeant to be sent there. At present there are only four officers for Bilbach and six for La Prevención, San Bernardo, and Santa Rosa. It seems that Folch is the official named by the captain general as commandant of Tampa Bay. The government schooner has not yet arrived.

I repeat my thanks to Your Lordship for your recommendation which has caused his Excellency the captain general to propose me for this command where the climate suits me well but where there is plenty to do. I remain the most appreciative and obedient servant of Your Lordship, whose hands I kiss.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

## WHITE TO CARONDELET

*August 23, 1793*<sup>120</sup>PENSACOLA, *August 23 1793.*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: I have written to Durouzeaux instructing him to sound out the Lower Creeks in regard to the establishment on the Bay of Tampa. As soon as he informs me of the results I

<sup>119</sup> BL.<sup>120</sup> BL.



shall communicate them to Your Lordship. Panton is of the opinion that the best means would be to assemble the chiefs here and propose it to them; but then the whole nation would come, and besides having to maintain them they would expect very considerable presents as the price of their land. This would give Panton no concern. It would be better if the proposal should come from the Indians themselves. For that reason I wrote to Durouzeaux that some of them who had gone to Havana solicited it from the captain general, and as a matter of fact, this is what Panton told me.

His schooner has come from Providence without bringing a single gun, for the demand for arms by the belligerent powers was so great in England that none were to be found; even the French, before war was declared, had the principal factories employed. Consequently, Panton does not expect any until they come by his frigates from London in the winter.

I am not giving Your Lordship any news because the gazettes go there from Nassau, and at the first opportunity Marbury will send you those of Philadelphia.

I enclose for Your Lordship a letter sent to me by Olivier, and I remain at Your Lordship's orders. Your most devoted, obedient servant, who kisses your hands,

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric).

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

WHITE TO CARONDELET

*September 1, 1793*<sup>121</sup>

PENSACOLA, *September 1, 1793*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: By the accompanying message for Your Lordship from Bloody Fellow, and the copies of the letters to Panton from the trader John Mc Donald and the interpreter Joseph Cornell, you will be informed of the determination of the Cherokees in respect to the Americans. I fear they may come here to ask for ammunition, and I beg Your Lordship to do me the favor of letting me know in advance how I am to act, for the powder that was left in the Indian Department is used up, and a start has been made on that of the garrison of the fort. To the messenger who came with the letters from Tukabatchi, which is eight days travel distant, I gave provisions, a shirt, a breechclout and some other trifles, bearing in mind the economy which Your Lordship has charged upon me. Panton, however, begged me to represent to Your Lordship that he had to reward him with other articles, to the value of forty *chocks*. He states that the government ought to pay these expenses,

<sup>121</sup> BL.

and that in the time of the English a messenger from the Creeks received payment to the value of forty-five pounds sterling.

Three days ago there arrived here one Mico with five Indians from the town of Yusuchy, with an order from Don Pedro Olivier for 300 pounds of powder, 600 pounds of ball, and 400 flint stones. I gave them to him, with provisions, and some trifles in the way of presents, notwithstanding that the order was from last year, for these people were in the same state as others who, for lack of horses, were not able to come when the order was given.

The fort of Santa Rosa has made very little progress in these days, on account of the bad weather and constant rains, by which some damage has been done to the powder house of San Bernardo. In the treasury it rains as in the street.

Hoping Your Lordship will keep in good health, I remain at your disposition. Your most devoted and obedient servant, who kisses your hand,

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

WHITE TO CARONDELET

*September 2, 1793*<sup>122</sup>

PENSACOLA, *September 2, 1793*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: Yesterday, being the first opportunity that presented itself, I wrote Your Lordship by Mr. Marbury, sending to you a message from the chief of the Cherokees, Bloody Fellow, and copies of letters from the trader Macdonald and the interpreter Cornel. By all of these letters it appears that these Indians have determined on war against the Americans, for the reason that the latter have killed some of their women. And since some accident may happen to Marbury's boat, I repeat my request to Your Lordship to inform me at the first opportunity what I am to do in case the Cherokees come here to ask for munitions, which I fear will happen. In the Indian Department there is not a grain of powder, it having been supplied for some time by the garrison of the fort.

I await Your Lordship's orders. Your most obedient and devoted servant, who kisses your hands,

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

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<sup>122</sup> BL.

## WHITE TO CARONDELET

*September 2, 1793*<sup>123</sup>PENSACOLA, *September 2, 1793.*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: This afternoon eleven Indians presented themselves to me with a letter from Milford, dated August 10, saying that, "the bearer is the grand chief of the great village of Cossety; he is going for the ammunition which you have given them, and which they have been obliged to leave at the house of Tom Miller. There are twenty or twenty-five of them, and they have no provisions. They pray Your Lordship to give them some. The king of the said village begs you to give him a barrel of salt to distribute among the people of his village. He also begs you, in case there is any present, to give it to those savages. He also requests you not to forget him in the matter of tobacco. You surely know how important the great village is; that is why I take the liberty to recommend it to you."

It is true that these Indians received their munitions with other presents shortly after I arrived at this place; and that for the lack of horses they deposited them in the house of this Miller, who has his habitation on the other side of the bay. It will be necessary to give them provisions and something more, but it will be very little. They know nothing about Olivier.

I am at Your Lordship's orders. Your most attentive and devoted servant, who kisses your hands,

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

## FRENCH PRIVATEERS IN FLORIDA WATERS

*September, 1793*<sup>124</sup>

*Extract of a Letter from New Providence to Mr. Panton dated 10th September 1793.*

You will no doubt have heard that Augustine Bar has been lately shut in by three Privateers which are Styled French, but I rather suspect that they are *American French*—I have no letter from J<sup>no</sup>. Leslie, but there is no doubt of the fact, as one of our wreckers met with a boat on the Coast of Florida with dispatches for the Governour General of Cuba, & an open note from Panton Leslie & C<sup>o</sup>, requesting any that might fall in with the boat to carry on the public dispatches, on the assurance of being rewarded for the Service; This had the desired effect & the letters were accordingly delivered, but we are yet to learn the Steps that were pursued in Consequence.

<sup>123</sup> BL.<sup>124</sup> BL, (English).

*Extract of another letter to the same dated Providence 20th September 1793.*

We are all in a Confusion expecting a visit from the French Refugees in America, who are full of resentment against our Privateering folks—

Our Governour seems most heartily alarmed & sticks at no expence to prepare for them, so that the Treasury at least will feel the effects if nothing else comes of it—For my part I am under very little alarm or dread, nor between you & I, do I expect them at all—They have some ships of war at New York, but the British have enough to keep them in & also to keep the Americans perfectly quiet &ca.—

LORIMIER TO [CARONDELET]

*September 17, 1793*<sup>125</sup>

CAPE GIRARDEAU, 17th of September, 1793

MY LORD: I have received the honor of your letter dated the 8th of May last, through Mr. de CHevalier de Luziere. Sometime before that I had received from Mr. Trudeau the permission which you granted me. I shall conform myself to everything which it outlines for me. I have not received a letter which you say you had previously written, nor one which Mr. Rousseau has written to me from New Madrid, according to what Mr. Luziere told me. These two letters have been confiscated. They would have been very useful for me in connection with maintaining the good disposition of the savages towards the government.

I did not believe, My Lord, that my trading had been in contravention to the laws of the state. It is my custom to buy my goods for my own house sometimes from St. Louis merchants who get them from Michillimakinac, sometimes from others who receive them from America. If I have made a mistake, it is due to my ignorance. In the future I shall follow your instructions, and I shall see to it that no complaint be lodged against me again. I am doing my best to fulfill exactly the orders of my superiors, and I have done so with their letters. However, I have brought upon myself Mr. Portell's disfavor because I did not want to agree to a commercial company that he proposed to me soon after his arrival here.

I have informed the savages of your intentions about the war against the Osages. They have all shown a sincere zeal and a great attachment for the common interest. They have given convincing proof of it these last few days. Mr. Portell wrote to me the 16th of last month to invite the savages, in your name, to prepare themselves for an expedition against the Osages, telling them to set a time and a

<sup>125</sup> BL, (French).

meeting place with all the nations of the lower part of the river and of Mexico. I gathered the savages and told them about the letter. They replied that it was not up to them to fix a time, but to their father to set it for his children, and that they would be ready within ten days. They sent me to the most distant villages, and from there I went to New Madrid to report the noble ardor of the savages and their activities in getting ready to fulfill his wishes. The trip which I made, My Lord, was a very long one and cost me seven days' travel on horseback, but the answer which Mr. Portell made was not in harmony with his first statement. He put them off until the following spring. This surprised them but did not dampen their ardor and their feelings. Their conversation constantly indicated that they wish to repress this nation in order to set an example for the other savage nations who are by nature given to evil and who would imitate the Osages. The Shawnees, whose character is different from the others, behave themselves as usual, and fervently desire to give you a proof of their fidelity. For my part, My Lord, I am not sparing of trouble and care in maintaining them in these noble and courageous views for the purpose of fighting the enemies of the state and those who disturb the common good. I also desire to share their ardor by serving my prince faithfully and vigorously, and in all the capacities with which my superiors will honor me.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and most obedient servant,

LORIMIER.

GRANT TO MEUNIER OF EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO TRADE  
WITH THE PONCA NATION

*September 21, 1793* <sup>126</sup>

*The Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Order of St. John, Colonel of the Royal Armies, Governor, Intendant General, Vice-Patron of the Provinces of Louisiana, West Florida, and Inspector of their troops etc.*

In acknowledgement of the meritorious services and conduct of Juan Meunier, a resident of the settlement of Ylinoa, and in view of the excellent reports submitted to me of this individual by the captain of the regiment of Louisiana, Don Manuel Perez, and the certainty of his having discovered, as he says, the Ponca Indian nation 400 leagues from the mouth of the Missouri River: I have agreed to grant him the exclusive right of trade with that nation, as he requests, for a period of four years counting from the beginning of the next year, 1794. I therefore order the commandant of the settlement

of Ylinoa to place no obstacles in the way of his going to and coming from that nation or during his stay there. Dated at New Orleans the 21st of September, 1793.

THE BARON DE CARDONDELET (Rubric).  
ANDRÉS LÓPEZ ARMESTO (Rubric).

TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*September 28, 1793*<sup>127</sup>

Without waiting for Your Lordship's orders of the 5th and 6th of May, this year, in reply to my official letters No. 50 and 57, I had already done all that was possible to raise a sufficient number of savages to attempt a successful attack on the Osage nations. All of them had promised me to be ready by last July, at which time the Osages return from their summer hunting up the Arkansas River in order to harvest their crops of corn. It is the only good time for organizing a large expedition, not only on account of being sure of finding the whole tribe in their village, but also on account of the provisions from their crops which are essential for the subsistence of the expedition on its return. Only the Shawnees and the Loups kept their promises and were ready and anxious to carry out the plan. But they numbered only one hundred men. As for the other Indians, some pretended that the Americans would march against them, and that they could not abandon their wives and children. Others pretended they were at war with tribes which also might easily attack and destroy their families. They did this in order to put a value on their services so that they would be given the present they expect, but which I could not promise them because of the large amount they would demand for going on the expedition and continuing the war.

The number of whites which this territory can raise for the expedition, by calling up and compelling all the young men capable of standing the fatigue to march, would not exceed two hundred. Of these not a single one would volunteer, for the reason that there is not a sufficient number of whites to guarantee the success of the expedition by themselves alone, and because they lack faith in the Indians who could be added but who might abandon them to their fate, as has occurred on many occasions. Therefore, Sir, I am not sure that a sufficiently strong expedition could be organized unless His Royal Majesty cares to incur the expense which would be demanded by the Indians. They are very different in this district from those in any other part of the province because of the proximity of the English and American merchants, who advise them and make

them presents, so that they will devote themselves to hunting rather than to war. They also desire to encourage the Osages to trade with them.

The Little Osage chiefs have called on us many times without arms and under a truce to ask for traders, promising me not to steal any more horses, but on the contrary to return all those now in the possession of their tribe. When I did not consent to their request, they began to weep, as they always readily do, and told me that they were unable to obtain the necessities of life, especially gunpowder, and that they were all determined, men, women and children, to come and die of hunger in this town of St. Louis unless I had compassion on them.

The mother of the head chief came here alone, sent by her son to tell me either to kill her or feed her. She is still in my house and refuses to leave, and claims that her whole tribe will do as she did. It is impossible for that large tribe to subsist without our traders, accustomed as they are to our arms and munitions, although they have not abandoned bows and arrows. However, they use them only in war, as these do not provide them with game as easily as do guns. For this reason I believe that to deprive them of traders is the only way we can secure all the effect that may be desired in restraining their raids, and bring them to a state of tranquility, which we cannot so easily hope for from the tribes on the Mississippi and in American territory who are equally troublesome.

May our Lord preserve Your Lordship many years.

ZENON TRUDEAU

ST. LOUIS, *September 28, 1793*

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

BURGESS TO DUROUZEUX

*October 2, 1793*<sup>128</sup>

*Extract of a Letter from James Burgess to James Durouzeaux dated Flint River 2d. October 1793.*

To find out the Indians that went to the Havana would take some time; I do not doubt but such an Indian has been there and said such a thing. The town the Indians went from is the little Town below the old Fork Town they call Uchessee; it's very likely as they are always going over to the Havana: However if the upper and lower Creeks give their consent for such a thing, I dare say this people will not be against it, if they send their consent in full to this people: The place that you want to know where it is, is down in the Point of Florida, where the Spaniards always fish,

<sup>128</sup> BL, (English).

and where the Indians take Vessels to cross over to the Havana: The Indians call it Pea Creek, which I believe is called in the Maps Tampa Bay.

The gathering of this people would take some time, and as you are in a hurry and I not receiving yours, till of late, I send you my opinion of it, which I hope you will receive safe. I wish the Heads of the Nation will contrive matters for the benefit of their Lands.

CLAMORGAN TO CARONDELET

*October 4, 1793* <sup>129</sup>

*Plan of Population for Illinois*

In a country that is as vast as the province of Illinois, where a great many large rivers flow from all parts of the globe to mingle their waters with the renowned Mississippi River, and where nature has outdone herself to give to the soil the greatest fertility, the most valuable, most useful, and richest mines, why should we not take advantage of the rare gifts which she offers to us, lest one day she inspire our neighbors to invade this territory, should we scorn her gifts and her favors?

These attractions are seductive enough to cause enterprising and ambitious people to disregard all obstacles, and all we have to oppose to them is the protection afforded by feeble ramparts.

A circle of more than 800 leagues spreading from the 30th degree of latitude, north, beginning at the mouth of the Mississippi, unto the 45th degree of latitude where it has its source, causes it to make, in its rapid flow, a course which is more than 20 degrees in longitude. This large area requires a population in proportion, especially along its most important frontiers, in order that we may retain the most immense and the richest territory known, as far as fertility and navigability are concerned.

Such a population is all the more required in order that this vast territory may be respected by both its civilized and barbarous neighbors, from the mouth of the Ohio River, which is the approach to Anglo-American possessions on the Mississippi, up to the St. Pierre River, which one day will be the nearest point which the English will have to us after the Americans have taken possession of all lands which they are recognized as owning in that part of the Mississippi. Our New Mexico is for them an object of attraction which continually arouses their desires, especially since they have found out that they can get there by land in fifteen or twenty days without any trouble.

<sup>129</sup> BL, (French).



However, impenetrable barriers might be opposed to them if the government should see fit to transplant to the most important localities the kind of men that nature has formed in order to take care of Ceres' sweet gifts. Those men, so precious to human existence, are the real sources of industry and prosperity. The Emperors of Asia, armed with the handle which guides the sharp blade of the plow, have not yet disdained to teach the men in their countries the manner of making furrows. Such men, it is necessary to state, Europe in flames should today send us in great numbers if we wish to make use of the easy means of attracting them to us. Let us take advantage of them while there is still time. The unfortunate dissensions which ravage one half of Europe must, perforce, tear from their hearths the peaceful and quiet populations which, sooner or later, will defend our frontiers from the civilized or barbaric nations which surround us, and who, with time, will adorn our plains with the red ear of wheat bent in two by the weight of its maturity, while Phoebus in his chariot spreads on it his celestial rays.

It should not be believed that the Anglo-American people, that people born to agriculture which, by its position, seems destined to reign over the vast ocean, will not undertake some day to become a conquering as well as a commercial nation. In the measure that its trade increases, its ambition will increase, and it may become imperious or insolent and assume the unjust right of pushing back its frontiers into the possessions of its neighbors.

If Anglo-America retains today an attitude of profound neutrality, we must not lose sight of the fact that, in view of its peculiar genius, this is not due to its lack of ambition nor to a taste for peace and tranquility, but to the fact that it has not yet marshalled all its forces which one day may spring out of their cradle to disturb our American possessions and to place there some day the avenues of its power.

Let us, if possible, prevent even the probability of such an emergency, and let us not wait for an event which we must be prudent to foresee even in the most distant future. Let us throw onto our frontiers great numbers of human nurseries and let us attract the most useful kinds of men, the kind which will pass on to their remotest descendants the sentiments of love, duty, and gratitude which they will owe to the monarch who is preparing a fortunate fate for them.

Delightful moments! Why cannot I live long enough to enjoy your future happiness? But I shall feel repaid if I am able to say that my aspirations and my desires may some day be of use to my brothers.

An agricultural and industrious nation which presents itself to our consideration from the far end of Germany and which answers our need, is the one which should retain our attention the longest. This truth is demonstrated to us by experience, if we merely glance at this indefatigable nation which is scattered among the Anglo-Americans. Their progress in agriculture has always surpassed that of the nation which has sheltered them. These latter, no matter how industrious they are and despite their pride, are forced to admit it.

But can such unfortunate peoples, plunged into misery, devoid of means and resources, be called upon to cross the immense ocean unless the richest and most powerful King extends his boons to them.

In the meantime, let us examine the means to this end.

Ships whose flag must maintain an attitude of profound neutrality in order to preserve the prosperity of their countries may be chartered by an agent of our government to go to Holland into the canals which communicate with Germany and take up there as many families as they can hold and bring them back to Philadelphia, which is the best place from which to enable them to reach Illinois.

To each head of a family, whether male or female, forty arpents of land will be freely granted.

Each family will receive as an advance two hens, one two-year old sow, and one cow; furthermore, one pair of oxen, one plow, two mattocks, and two hatchets will be given to families with two or more male children of thirteen years or older. To families which have either one male or female child or no children at all, there will be given two hens, one two-year old sow, one cow, one mattock, and one hatchet for each family, and one pair of oxen and one plow for two families.

There should be also advanced to every person, large or small, without distinction of sex 1  $\delta$  of flour from wheat, or 1½  $\delta$  of corn meal per day, and five pounds of salted pork per month. This will be for a space of ten months from their arrival in Illinois, to help them live until the first crops.

All their transportation expenses to Illinois, as well as the advances which will be made to them, will be paid back by every family during the second, third, and fourth year after their arrival, beginning with the actual date of their arrival. The payment will be made in produce so that the expenditures of the government may be reimbursed at New Orleans.

Once these new subjects have settled down, they will call to them their relatives, their neighbors, and their friends, and soon the Germanic people will flourish in abundance under peaceful and

quiet skies and will bless the hand which took them out of the chaos of misery and offered them the overflowing cup of prosperity.

Like new plants which art transplants and cultivates in order one day to gather more exquisite fruits in great numbers, so will these ignorant and docile men be capable of taking the shape required by our desires, and produce one day all that the future holds for us which is most useful and most fortunate.

These advantages may also be found in France, but how important it is to disregard anyone who is not a tiller of the soil. A colony composed of idle, wandering, mischievous, and immoral people, far from becoming useful and necessary to our government, would only be harmful to its prosperity and its progress. What we need is men brought up among rural surroundings, accustomed to labor under the harness of hard work. Since they have to feed families that are dear to them, they will be concerned, as they settle here, only with making a permanent home and act in accordance with our views.

Despite everything, I ask the world can the French people, although suffering from harsh seasons and heavy work, be weighed in the same scale as the German people? Whoever knows them cannot hesitate.

No matter whom we choose, this human rampart, a thousand times more powerful than the one formed by the sharp points of the steepest rocks, will hold within just bounds the bold nations who might one day try to overstep them; and, if we examine seriously the advantages that we may receive from the union which our neighbors will be obliged to make with us, we shall see that some day we can use them offensively and defensively for our own interests. This is especially true in those localities which may be too far away from our metropolis to enable us, in case of emergency, to give all the help required in unforeseen circumstances. It is therefore important, because of these two powerful reasons, that we should be continually at peace with them.

If we have proved the necessity of a population on a territory which opens the doors to New Mexico, we have to examine the amount of expense which the government will incur in the transportation of a thousand families from Holland to Illinois.

*Estimated costs for a thousand families composed of about  
four thousand persons.*

For the personal expenses of the government agent who will  
also be obliged to have two or three assistants or clerks in  
various places ..... 2,000 piastres

The agent will go to Philadelphia to make arrangements with ship owners who are engaged in trade with Holland and he will

charter their boats on their return trip to Philadelphia, including two months' wait in Europe if necessary, either at Amsterdam or Rotterdam, where they will take on board at their own expense the water, kettles, and wood necessary to their use during the crossing of one hundred families comprising four hundred people. The captain is furthermore to be required to sail as soon as the authorized agent orders it.

These ships will be about two or three hundred tons in capacity and we suppose that the chartering of each will cost about...	4,000	piastres
Three months' supplies for a hundred families in each boat....	1,500	"
For the expenses of a surgeon.....	100	"
For the most necessary drugs.....	50	"
For the feeding of a hundred families in Holland until the boat leaves .....	500	"
For some clothes which we suppose they will need.....	300	"
For the expenses of nine hundred other families in nine other boats on a basis of 6450 piastres per hundred families.....	58,050	"
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>66,500</b>	<b>piastres</b>
Total amount of expenses to transport a thousand families as far as Philadelphia .....	66,500	piastres
But since we have to send freight to Holland in these boats which we have rented for the round trip, we estimate that we can reduce our costs at least by 1,000 piastres for each boat. Therefore we shall subtract.....	10,000	piastres
<b>There remains .....</b>	<b>56,500</b>	<b>piastres</b>
The expenses of each family head to Philadelphia will be about 14 piastres.		
For the rental of twenty wagons from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt to transport merchandise, supplies, children, and sick persons at a rate of 120 piastres each.....	2,400	piastres
To feed four thousand people during forty days' travel from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, although the trip takes only twenty or 25 days. The expense per day per capita will be estimated at 6 sols or 240 piastres per day, total.....	9,600	piastres
Staying at Fort Pitt because of unforeseen reasons during fifteen days, at a rate of 6 sols per day, total.....	3,600	piastres
	72,100	"
Total amount of cost to transport a thousand families as far as Fort Pitt, including their living expenses there.....	72,100	piastres
For the purchase of twenty barges to transport the families from Fort Pitt to Illinois and bring up the supplies which will be taken by the barges at the entrance of the Ohio River	1,500	piastres
One month's supplies for the trip from Fort Pitt to Illinois, at a rate of 6 sols per day per capita.....	7,200	piastres
Ten barges of 50 or 60 tons to transport to Illinois the wheat which we grant to them to help them live for ten months....	500	"
Five hundred tons of wheat purchased at Fort Pitt at the rate of 20 piastres per ton.....	10,000	"
Ten other barges to transport corn to Illinois for the same purpose .....	500	"

24,000 minots of corn at 1/5 sols purchased at Fort Pitt or Kentucky .....	6,000	"
Five other barges to transport pork to Illinois.....	250	"
For the purchase of 200 <i>millié</i> of pork at a rate of 5 s of lard per month per capita, at 3 sols the s at Kentucky.....	6,000	"
	<hr/> 31,950	piastres

But as we have paid for our barges, our wheat, our corn and our pork in merchandise to the amount of 31,950 piastres, on which we have made a profit of 50 per cent at least, we must deduct .....	10,650	
	<hr/> 21,300	

Amount of all expenses for the transportation of four thousand people to Illinois, feeding them after their arrival for ten months .....	93,400	piastres
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Dividing this sum by 4000 people whom we have fed and transported, we shall have an expense of about 23 piastres per capita, which is an extraordinarily small amount, if one but considers the length of time that they will be fed.

Let us see now the cost of the cattle and implements which we have promised to supply them.

2 hens .....	1	piastre
1 sow, 2 years old .....	10	
1 cow which we shall take at Cumberland, with the expenses .....	15	
2 oxen from the same place .....	30	
1 plow which will have been brought.....	6	
2 mattocks, ditto .....	2	
2 axes, ditto .....	4	

68 piastres

500 families who will receive 68 piastres' worth of implements or animals.....	34,000	piastres
500 other families who we suppose will need only one pair of oxen for two families.....	26,500	

60,500 piastres

Deduct 50 per cent profit on our European merchandise or....	20,000	
Balance .....	40,500	

The total expense of the government amounts to.....	133,900	piastres
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A. We have seen above that the cost of transporting one person from Holland to Illinois and of food for ten months, amounts to 23 piastres. Now that we have given him all necessary stock and equipment, each person should cost us about 33 and a half piastres.

But as the profits made on our operations involving the merchandise which we brought from Europe and exchanged for the objects required are to be credited to the government, they will have to be methodically gone over, to wit: For the profit made on freight taken on in Holland in our ten ships .....	10,000	piastres
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A. We shall not mention here the insurance on the goods leaving Holland for America.

For the profit made in the purchase of barges, wheat, corn and pork, which we paid for in goods brought from Europe..	10,650
For the profit made on merchandise which was exchanged for cattle and equipment furnished to the colonists.....	20,000
Total profit .....	40,650 piastres
Total amount to be reimbursed to us.....	174,550 piastres

This sum, which is to be paid back to us in three installments, will amount, each time, to 14 and a half piastres per capita, or 58 piastres per family, each family being responsible for this during the second year after its settlement in Illinois, as much the third year, and again as much the fourth year, unless the government be desirous of crowning such a fine achievement by cancelling its debts in favor of its new subjects, if they prove worthy of this good fortune.

Be that as it may, there is not a single one of these families that is not capable of fulfilling these conditions, unless something disastrous happens to the crops. In this case, the payments ought to be postponed to the fifth year and the interest on our real expenditures will be amply repaid by the profits made on the goods which we have sold.

A necessary operation, an indispensable operation, a profitable operation, an operation that will be useful to the preservation of our possessions, one that requires no sacrifice on the part of the government, can such an operation remain in perpetual oblivion? Our necessities render the world unable to believe this.

Let us see what the English, who are more far-sighted than other nations, have done. They are beginning to place in their unpopulated possessions of Canada, everybody that emigrates from Europe.

What are we waiting for to imitate them? If we have fallen into slumber, should we allow our rivals to awaken us one day?

Silence, my pen! This is enough. If thy words, prompted by love for a Prince whom thou reverest, are not strong enough to convince him of these truths, he may some day learn the price of the moments which thou takest pride in devoting to him today. I return to my subject.

For this operation, the government agent must have credit with the Philadelphia merchants with whom he will have to negotiate for the chartering of their ships and when they come back from Holland, the consuls and ambassadors of His Majesty must be authorized to draw on the treasury at Havana to pay each ship-owner.

Furthermore, this agent must have a letter of credit in Holland of a sufficient amount to buy all the supplies, equipment or merchandise necessary for the undertaking and this will be paid back to him in the manner and on the terms which are most suitable to our government.

Any other project will always remain futile. It is not to be believed that such a large country can ever expect to be filled by immigrants coming from across the seas, unless direct help is given them.

It will not matter if Europe sends to America a number of people who bring nothing but their poverty and their vices. Nothing can bring them to us because this distance will always be an obstacle to them and we are wrong to count on them to populate this territory. Besides, we must make a selection in the kind of men that we want to transplant here. Otherwise, the edifice will topple over and our hopes will destroy themselves.

Once again, if we want men who are sensible to gratitude, whose customs have been purified by honor and duty, let us go straight to the fountain-heads and let us not place on our possessions those whom vice, idleness, and laziness carelessly scatter on the surface of the globe.

DIMIDIUM FACTI, QUI BENE CAPIT, HABET.

ST. LOUIS OF ILLINOIS, *October 4, 1793.*

By MR. CLAMORGAN.

To His Excellency, Monseigneur the BARON OF CARONDELET.

OLIVIER TO WHITE

*October 5, 1793*<sup>130</sup>

*Copy.*

In order to induce the White Lieutenant of Ocfasky to send for the munitions belonging to his town, it was necessary that a party of American light cavalry, consisting of twenty to thirty men, pursuing some Indians of this nation who went to steal horses from them, should go as far as the town of Chateouchy which is one on the frontier. There they killed six men, burned the greater part of the houses, and carried off seven prisoners, women and children. This happened about ten days ago, at a time when a commissioner of the agent Seagrove, was in the town of Ocfasky with messages of peace. If he had not been protected by the aforesaid White Lieutenant and the trader of his town, he would have been the first to pay for this bad deed. The commissioner mentioned is staying in the town of Tokepatchy, with some pretence of security for his person, until such time as Seagrove himself, who is expected, arrives.

The White Lieutenant, therefore, requests of me fourteen loads of munitions for his town, which I have cut down to eight because several towns dependent on Ocfasky have received what belonged to them. I shall thank you if you will issue to the bearer the aforesaid eight loads of munitions, with eight hundred flints, some steels,

<sup>130</sup> BL.

knives, and muskets, if there are any. Those who go commissioned to receive these goods ask me to recommend them to you for a present to each one (there are three) of a blanket, shirt, breechclout, boots, and provisions for their return.

God keep etc.

WUTONKÁ, *October 5, 1793.*

PEDRO OLIVIER (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ENRIQUE WHITE.

WHITE TO CARONDELET

*October 10, 1793*<sup>131</sup>

PENSACOLA, *October 10, 1793*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR AND DEAR SIR: Some days ago Poy Mico, chief of the great medal of the town of Chavazly, arrived with thirty-five Indians to ask for munitions. I did not venture to give them to him until I received the final decision of Your Lordship, for if I should have supplied him, I would also have to supply people of the other towns and would be left without powder. However, the government schooner arrived on the 5th, and I sent a special messenger after the chief. He returned yesterday, and today he will be given the munitions.

Yesterday also the Hallowing King of the Cowittas arrived, also in search of munitions, with a letter from Olivier to that effect, although it was dated the 5th of August.

I have letters from Durouzeaux of the 20th and 24th of September in which he tells me that no Indian around there knows where the bay of Tampa is, or at least they do not know it by this name. On the 21st a Georgian cavalry party burned one of their small towns named Hoethletiaga, 45 miles distant from Cowittas. They killed four Indians, wounded three, and carried off four women, three girls, and one boy. Seagrove was at Rock Landing, always ready to treat for a peace, but Durouzeaux doubts much that he will obtain it. In a letter to Panton he says that in a council held by the chiefs of the Upper and Lower towns on the 27th of August they determined to divide into four armies and go to the Oconee River in different parts on the same day and attack the Georgian possessions; but that they were dissuaded from it by Olivier, who told them that, if they marched against the Americans, he would retire from their nation. and that they would not be sustained by the Spaniards. Since the affair at Hoethletiaga, the Indians have been pursuing the Americans. An Indian who was out hunting alone killed one of them, and they then killed him. If the war continues, I shall need more powder.

<sup>131</sup> BL.



Olivier having written to me that he was going to go back to Orleans by way of Mobile, and learning from Panton that he has already gone, I despatched the open letter which Your Lordship sent me by a special messenger to Mobile, to try to overtake him.

I am sending to Your Lordship some sheets from Milford and copies of others which he has written to me.

I received the letter Your Lordship sent me for Folch, but up to now there is no news of him.

As yet there has been no opportunity to send the letter to Bloody Fellow, but Panton tells me there soon will be. The sabre and bracelets for Spaniacho I shall also send at the first opportunity.

The storehouse at San Bernardo has been repaired, but unless an entire new roof is put on the treasurer's office, it will be better to leave it, for if you touch it, is likely to fall down. I shall send to Apalache a prisoner who is a mason to repair the hospital and oven.

I have had a conference this morning with the Hallowing King when he gave me the message of which I enclose a copy.

I spoke to Panton about sending Your Lordship the sealing-wax. I am at Your Lordship's orders. Your most respectful, obedient servant, who kisses your hands,

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

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The reply which I gave to the Hallowing King was that Olivier counseled them not to be the aggressors, but that it was natural in every man on seeing himself attacked to defend his life, his women, his children, and his property and that he could count on our protection and assistance.

Since Indians will be coming now every day, the bad rice might be cleaned a little and used for them, for it is necessary to give them provisions while they remain here and for their return.

Marbury tells me that at Orleans he was given a parcel of government papers for me, but meeting contrary winds on the voyage he disembarked at Pascagoula and came by land. He left the papers on board the bark *Pescador*, on which they were coming. As the bark does not appear, it will be better for Your Lordship to order duplicates of the documents sent to me if they are important.

Within a few days the fort of Santa Rosa will be entirely finished. I have part of the prisoners repairing the road from San Miguel, which the rains have made impassable. I again place myself at the orders of Your Lordship, etc.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

ANDRÜ TO CARONDELET

*October 14, 1793*<sup>132</sup>

I have communicated to the inhabitants of this district the letter of Your Lordship dated the 10th of this month, concerning the information which you have received from Philadelphia that the Jacobins, together with other Frenchmen who have taken refuge there, were trying to get up an expedition against some of the Spanish islands, and perhaps even against this province. This would be very harmful for the localities where unfortunately they might penetrate. We have everything to fear from an expedition formed by lawless people of this kind, who are seeking nothing but their own gain and consequently would rob and devastate the places which they would seize. I have observed this and, to the best of my ability, have explained to the inhabitants of this district the necessity of defending themselves if this colony were attacked, since they would be defending their own property. Thereupon, they seemed to me quite disposed not to allow themselves to be robbed and to defend themselves well if such a misfortune threatened them.

In order to be in a position to know the young men of good will whom Your Lordship is demanding for emergencies, I have ordered a gathering of these young men for the purpose of sounding them out, arousing them as much as possible, and telling them to be ready to obey the orders of Your Lordship. I shall inform you fully about this matter.

God have you in His holy keeping.

DES ALLEMANDS, *14th of October, 1793.*

M. ANDRÜ (Rubric)

Monsieur, the BARON DE CARONDELET.

GALPHIN TO PANTON

*October 16, 1793*<sup>133</sup>

*Copy of a letter from John Golphin to Mr. Panton dated  
Broken Arrows 16th. Oct. 1793.*

This you will receive by the old second man: The Nation is at this time in such a situation that I really cannot with any propriety write you their determination it has been so divided. Yesterday I attended a meeting and by the request of the Chiefs wrote a Talk to Mr. Seagrove in order to get their Women and Children back that were carried off. Several of the Chiefs told me that they

<sup>132</sup> BL, (French).

<sup>133</sup> BL, (English).

should wait 'till their Women were sent back and they would turn out and take satisfaction for those that were killed; the Party that came into the town left a letter stuck upon a tree for our perusal, where he signs his name Colonel William Milton, and that he is determined to keep them from hunting on the other side of the River, and says perhaps may lay your towns in ashes. The Chiefs in a meeting requested that I should do all their business for them in future; for that purpose they held a meeting in the Point which was agreed upon by all the Chiefs in the lower Towns. They were advised strongly they say by Mr. Milford in the upper Towns to go out immediately to take satisfaction, but I advised them in this meeting to wait twenty days to see whether we would get our Women & Children back, and then it was time enough, and to the advice of our friends the Spaniards what steps were best; but they say that they have been always told by the Spanish beloved men that they should never want for Arms or ammunition if the Americans encroached upon them and the[y] think very hard if they are stopt now when they come into their lands, however they wait twenty days to see whether they get their Women back or no; if not we must see ourselves righted and defend our Country. We have fixed out strong guards in all the roads that we are not afraid of a surprize: we should be happy of your advice and our friends the Spaniards, as we cannot sit still and see our Women and Children carried off and our Towns and Provisions laid in flames. The little Prince desires me to mention to you he received his letter and will pay all attention to it which he has done.

*Copy of a talk sent to Georgia.*

GENTLEMEN: We view with astonishment the steps taken by your people when sending Peace Talks in our Nation continually: We were at a Meeting in the Ocfusqui to head a Talk that you sent up, when at that time a party of your people came into one of our out-towns and carried off eight women and children, besides killing the old men in the Town, burnt our provision & houses, took off all the property you could find; it appears to us that you sent your talks on purpose to deceive us.

Gentlemen, now if you are our friends as you say, you will without delay send our Women and Children back to us; it is our wish to live in peace and friendship with all people; you well know the reason of discontent with us has ever been the limits and border of our Country. We actually see our hunting Grounds laid out into districts, without considering us to have any claim or right to which Nature has bestowed upon us, and of which oppression or prejudice alone can attempt to rob us. We do not understand your present proceedings, but as it is our wish to put an end to further bloodshed, we propose that you will come up with our

Women and Children and treat with the Chiefs, as talking at a distance will never settle matters, so we shall expect you in twenty days—

By order of the Supreme Council 4<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1793.

JOHN GALPHIN  
(A true copy)

DUROUZEUX TO WHITE

*October 18, 1793*<sup>134</sup>

MAY ITT PLESE YOUR EXCELENCE: In Respect to your Letter about an Indion having ben to the Havana, and Requesting a Store to be Setled at Tampa Bay for the Benefitt of the Indion in that part of the Nation. I Wrotte to M<sup>r</sup>. Burges in consequence of it, and he cant find out the man that had been Over to the Havana. But he Wrotte to me that if the Headmen in the Lower & uper Townes Gave thaer consent to have a fort and a Store at the place cald by the Indions (Tampa Bay) pee Creek in the point of florida, he maed No Dought but the people in them parts would have no Objection as it was for the Benefitt of them parts of thaer Nation. But Sittuation of Matters has been of Late so Very percuerness that I have no Oper-tuenittey to call a Meeting With Chiefe Headmen to Know thaer Opinion, and Gett thaer consent if agreable, Which if I Do I will acquaint your Excellence of it—

The Chiefe Headmen have Sent for M<sup>r</sup>. Seagrove the Ammeracan Egent to com into the Nation and bring thaer prissoners With him. the Day Opointed for him to be in the Nation is the 3.<sup>d</sup> of Novb.<sup>r</sup> insuing then a Meeting of the Chiefe headmen of Whole Nation is to be held at the Tuckabatchess at Which Meeting a peace or a Warr Will Tacke place—if M<sup>r</sup>. Seagrove brings and Restores the prissonors, and then Gives Sattissfaction for Davey Cornell. then a peace may tacke place but without that, I Dont Expect a peace. Espashelley if the Haulloving King Getts any incoregement from, but if he Getts no encoregement. The Indions will be under an Nessessitey of Mack-ing a peace Mutch against thaer Wills—The Cherockees With Some of this have been out on Expadetion [in] the western parts and Kild Nine White people Litle & bigg and tacken two prissoners, one of Whome is Sent as a pressent to a Chiefe of this Nation, and I am informed the Cherockees is to go out in a Graet Army against the Western parts but none of this nation will go with them. The White Lieutt<sup>a</sup>. of the Ockfuskays and the Mad Dog of the Tuckabatches are Very Decierpes of a peace, but the young people Regraetts mutch the Loss of thaer Relations Kild by the Georgians that is out of

<sup>134</sup> BL. (English).

penetration to be a juge how Matters Will be Setled With this Nation & Georgians at present—I am With Respect &  
Your Excelences most obedient & most Humble Sar<sup>t</sup>.

JAS. DUROUZEUX (Rubric).

18 October 1793

His Excelence HENRY WHITE ESQ<sup>R</sup>.

N. B. The Barrior is a poor old man of the Brocon Arow Town Who has obtained an Order to you for Some few Articles he comes to see you and Tacke you by the Hand and beg your Excelence for a gun if you possible can Gett him one—J. D.

DE MILFORD TO WHITE

October 19, 1793<sup>185</sup>

[Copy]

CLOALI, 19th of October, 1793.

SIR AND FRIEND:

The 11th of this month there took place a little gathering at Tuquebatchet, which I was unable to attend because I am in bed and I do not know when I shall be able to get up. My faithful spy, who is very much respected by the chiefs, came to report to me about what took place at this assembly. He told me that this assembly had been expressly called for the purpose of informing the Americans that, if they wanted to surrender the prisoners which they had taken lately, the nation would look upon the six savages who were killed as a compensation for what they did at St. Marys; that they desired nothing else except to shake hands with them, and if they consented to that, they could expect them to reject the Spaniards; that they had been the friends of the said Spaniards only because of the treachery of McGillivray, but that now they saw things clearly and that the Spaniards were not people upon whom they could count, in view of the fact that they only looked out for their own interests. I must tell you that this speech was made by the interpreter Joseph Cornel, who is my spy's uncle. He was approved by only one chief. This chief is the White Lieutenant of Ocfosqui. The other chiefs laughed at him and at the interpreter. Despite that, both of them had the impudence to write a letter in which they tell Seagrove that they are expecting him the 5th of next month at the Cosettis, and that if he brings the eight women whom they have lately captured he may expect to see peace re-established between them, and that, if he wishes it, they will abandon

<sup>185</sup> BL, (French).

the Spaniards and that in the future the nation would have only the said Americans as their friends.

If you want to send by the bearer the 50 pounds of powder and the 100 pounds of shot which I was forced to leave with the savages who brought them, you will do me a very great favor; otherwise, they will be a total loss to me.

Reply of the Seminoles to their brothers the Upper Creeks:

We do not know where this Tampa Bay is. We suppose that it is where the Spaniards catch their fish for Havana. Be that as it may, since our brothers the Upper Creeks have promised, we also promise, and we promise that there will be no obstacles from our side; furthermore we promise that in case the Americans object to it, to defend the rights of the Spaniards.

To our brothers Mad Dog and François Tastanagoy: Everything which you do will be approved by your brothers the Seminoles.

I beg you to pass this paragraph to the Baron.

Five of the savages of Otissi came back loaded with meat and tallow. The brother-in-law of Antoine Garçon was one of the five who killed five oxen which belonged to Tom and Jack Miller. The fifteen others remain near Pensacola to hunt in accordance with Antoine's invitation. His brother-in-law has already gone back with the rest to the village to join the fifteen who have remained, and then they will go and hunt at a point which Antoine Garçon is to show them, and where he says there is plenty of deer. He informed the savages of the said Otissi that it was not necessary for them to take provisions because he undertook to supply them, and that he would go to the hunt with them for Christmas. Besides, he told the savages who came to get ammunition that, if they had had a letter from Olivier, they would have received ammunition, but that since they came with my letter they would be obliged to go away empty-handed, and that the governor paid no attention to my letters, and that they would do well not to bring any more letters from this *Apatana Ajoo*; that is to say, Mad Frog. This is how I have to be the laughing stock of this person Antoine, and the other day you seemed angry because I complained.

The king of the Cosettis brought me the letter which you gave to him for me, and he told me that he was quite satisfied with what I had given to him and to his people, and he asks me to say "Thank you" to you, meaning that he is quite grateful to you.

Nothing more for the time being except the pleasure of telling you that I have the honor of being etc.

(Signed) DE MILFORD

TO COLONEL WHITE.

## TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*October 20, 1793*<sup>126</sup>

No. 40.

Upon receipt of the new plan of commerce which Your Lordship sent me in an official letter of the 10th of last July, I was compelled immediately to call together the merchants of this town, without waiting for the end of the month, the time set by Your Lordship for their first meeting, for the reason that most of them were ready to start for different points on the Mississippi in order to begin the winter trading. In that case I would have been left with a small number of the merchants, and could not have learned (until the spring of the coming year) the opinion of the majority of which Your Lordship wishes to be informed. Their opinions, which are placed on the margins of the articles of the plan, were unanimously favorable, as well as in the other additional proposals of Your Lordship, in which I find nothing objectionable. On the contrary they seem to me favorable to the intentions of Your Lordship to make these settlements prosper, and in conformity with the desires of all the merchants present. They signed the said plan, which I am returning to you according to orders.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *October 20, 1793.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric).

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

## TREATY OF NOGALES

*October 23, 1793*<sup>127</sup>

TREATY of Friendship and Guaranty between His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain and Emperor of the Indies for the one party, and for the other, the Chickasaw, Creek, Talapoosa, Alibamon, Cherokee, and Choctaw nations. The first party is represented in the name of His Majesty by Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, colonel of the royal armies, military and political governor of the post and district of Natchez, commissioned for this purpose by the Baron de Carondelet, knight of the order of St. John, colonel of the royal armies, governor, intendant and vice-patron of the province of Louisiana and West Florida, and inspector of the veteran troops and militia thereof. The second party is represented in the name of the Chickasaw nation, by Ugulayacabe Mingo, Atakabeholacta, Mongulacha Mingo, Chicacha Olactaopaye, Stanapayahacho, Ufehuma, and

<sup>126</sup> BL.

<sup>127</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2353.

Enehenantla, chiefs of large and small medal and leading men of the said nation, and in the name of the Creek, Talapoosa, and Alibamon nations by Tasqueimha, Sulusmastabe, chiefs of large medal, Taskaopaye, Opaye Atque, chiefs of small medal, their interpreter Payemingo, deputies and representatives of their nation, named for this purpose in general council thereof. The said chiefs likewise are commissioned by the Cherokee nation to represent them in this Treaty, due to the inability of any of their own chiefs to attend, on account of their being engaged in a campaign against the American States. The second party is also represented in the name of the Choctaw nation by Franchimastabe, principal chief thereof, Mingo Puscus, Mistchico, Soulushemastabe, Taboca, Ytelaghana, Naulomastabe, Eachaopaye, Opahulo, Tapenahuma, Totehuma, Puchimataha, Taskaouinaopaye, Taskapataho, Yaganehuma, Nocjahumaacho, Taskaoupa, chiefs of large medal of the said nation, and Hayupahouma, Stonahuma, Puchimastabe, Stonahacho, Pouchantiabe, Taskaameko, Olactaopaye, Panchabaonele, Payehouma, Ockhanahouman, chiefs of the small medal. In the presence of various other chiefs and a great number of captains and warriors of the said nations who are present and met in Congress convoked at the petition of the Cherokee nation, this Treaty was made in the vicinity of the Fort of Nogales, and the said representatives agreed unanimously on the following articles :

Article 1. That the Spanish, Chickasaw, Creek, Talapoosa, Alibamon, and Choctaw nations ratify by the present Act all the treaties and agreements which they have mutually made from the year 1784 to the present time, whether in this province, in that of the Floridas or in any of the said nations, promising to observe and keep everything contained therein in the same manner as if expressed in this present Treaty.

2. The Cherokee nation beseeches His Majesty to admit it under his immediate protection as are the foregoing nations.

3. His Catholic Majesty grants to the Cherokee nation the protection it implores, and will consider it henceforth in the same way as the nations mentioned in Article 1 of this Treaty.

4. The Chickasaw, Creek, Talapoosa and Alibamon, Cherokee, and Choctaw nations form an offensive and defensive alliance, so that all in general and each one in particular promise to consider each other as part of their own nations to aid one another mutually, and not to decide any essential point which might affect the security and preservation of the others without consulting them.

5. The nations mentioned in the foregoing Article being under the protection of His Catholic Majesty, promise not to decide any



matter of the nature described in the said Article without consulting the governor of this province as representative of His Catholic Majesty therein.

6. The said nations, in view of the protection which they enjoy and which is given them by His Catholic Majesty, guarantee and obligate themselves to contribute on their part to the preservation of his Dominion throughout all of the provinces of Louisiana and both Floridas.

7. The said nations, being under the protection of His Catholic Majesty, request that his ministers determine and agree with the American States on the boundaries of each one, fixing them in a permanent manner, so as to prevent any cause of discord, and in order to put an end to the differences over this matter existing between the said American States and the Creek and Cherokee nations.

8. His Catholic Majesty as immediate protector of the said nations will mediate with the American States for the determination of boundaries as mentioned in the foregoing Article, in order to preserve to each one peaceful possession of its lands.

9. The Chickasaw nation wishes to receive the yearly presents which the generosity of His Catholic Majesty dispenses to it in its own nation on the bank of the Mississippi River, where the Chickasaws will go to get them in the spring of each year.

10. The Creek, Talapoosa, and Cherokee nations desire to receive the same presents in Pensacola at the same season.

11. The Alibamon nation in the same way desires to receive its presents in Mobile.

12. The Choctaw nation defers to a later date the selection of the place for the distribution of its presents.

13. The presents which are annually dispensed by His Catholic Majesty to the said nations will be given them at the time and place indicated, with the exception of the Choctaw nation. Decision on this matter will be postponed until, like the others, it decides upon a fixed place, approved by the governor of this province, for the distribution of the said presents.

14. As henceforth the annual presents are to be distributed to the nations at the places indicated in Articles 9, 10, and 11, they shall no longer receive them at any other place in these provinces, and the same will be observed with the Choctaw nation.

15. Other points which have been discussed in the present Con-

gress but which require greater reflection will be decided henceforth in the said Indian nations by His Majesty's commissioners with the approval of the governor of this province, and when so done, the said decisions and agreements will have the same force as if included in this treaty.

16. All the Indian nations referred to in this Treaty will admit into their nations the commissioner sent by His Catholic Majesty thereto and from him they will receive all the messages sent to them by the governors of these provinces, and to the said commissioner they will give those which they have to send to the aforesaid governors. They will respect the said commissioner, receive from him all the counsels and instructions which he may give them, and inform him of everything they may learn concerning the general interests of their nations and whatever may affect the tranquillity and security of these provinces and likewise they shall consider him as the exclusive judge of the whites residing in the said nations.

17. The whites settled with their families or in trade in the said nations shall be considered as belonging to them, but those who are not engaged in any kind of occupation shall be expelled therefrom.

18. The Choctaw nation now decides and states that it desires to receive the yearly presents dispensed to it by His Catholic Majesty at Old Tombecbé, which it has recently ceded to His Catholic Majesty, and it likewise desires that these be distributed to them at the same time as to the other nations.

19. Finally the Spanish nation and all the Indian nations mentioned in this Treaty approve and ratify everything contained herein, and mutually promise and swear to be mutual guarantors thereof, and the said Indian nations to consider themselves as one under the protection of His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain and the Emperor of the Indies, and His Catholic Majesty assures them of his protection in all cases in which they need it. In witness whereof all the representatives of the nations making this Treaty, as mentioned in its heading, sign same, the said Indians making their customary marks. The witnesses are Captain Don Elias Beauregard, commandant of this post, Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan Delavillebeuvre, commissioner for His Majesty to the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, the interpreters of the same, Don Benjamin Fooy and Don Simon Fabre, Don Juan Turnbull, Don Juan Girault, Don Antonio Marmillion and Don Juan Barnó y Ferrusola. Sealed with the Royal Seal, and countersigned by the Secretary of His Majesty of the government of Natchez, named by the said governor, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, to attend to this Treaty in this capacity. The said Treaty

has been concluded on the third day of conferences at this post of Los Nogales on the 28th day of October, 1793.

(Royal Seal)

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS (Rubric)

*Chickasaw nation*

UGULAYAKABÉ (Mark)

*Creek, Talapoosa and Alibamon nations*

SULUCHE MASTABÉ (Mark)

*Cherokee nation*

SULUCHE MASTABÉ (Mark)

*Choctaw nation*

FRANCHI MASTABÉ (Mark)

MINGO PUSCUS (Mark)

MISTICHICO (Mark)

*Witnesses*

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUYRE (Rubric)

ELIAS BEAUREGARD (Rubric)

JOHN TURNBULL (Rubric)

JUAN GIRAULT (Rubric)

BENJAMIN FOOT (Rubric)

SIMON FAVRE (Rubric)

JUAN BARNÓ Y FERRUSOLA (Rubric)

ANTONIO MARMILLION (Rubric)

*By Command of His Lordship*

N. VIDAL (Rubric)

WHITE TO CARDONDELET

*November 11, 1793* <sup>128</sup>

PENSACOLA, *November 11, 1793.*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: On the 4th of the current month I received the letter from Milford of which I enclose a copy. I do not know what to think of what he says about Joseph Cornell. On the other hand, it appears that he is favored by Olivier, as Your Lordship will see by the letter from the latter touching upon the salary of Cornell as interpreter, which I communicate officially. And in order that Your Lordship may be better informed in regard to this matter I shall copy what Milford writes to Pantón relative to what Cornell said to the chiefs in the assembly of October 11:

"That it was necessary that two or three chiefs should go to Pensacola to tell you that when you came to Pensacola you promised to give them a treaty, the same as they had in the time of the English; but that you have been able to win over McGillivray to such an

extent that, to please you and for self-interest, he became a traitor to the nation. It is the said McGillivray who is the cause of your having stolen their peltry since that day, by not giving them their full value, and making them pay the traders double what was necessary for your merchandise. As I have not yet left my bed, Etique has come to give account of what had happened, and he has told me that Olivier had favored his uncle. Etique also tells me that when he and I were at Ocfosque, his uncle went to Olivier's house in order to have the pleasure of getting drunk, and that on his return from Olivier's house he had caused a letter to be written by the little watchmaker in which he tells the governor that he does not wish to be interpreter for a fool like me. He is right, for I do not wish to use a man who makes it necessary, when I do use him, to have another interpreter by his side to see if he says exactly what I tell him to say; and, as you know, I have no trouble in finding interpreters. If I have recommended Etique, it is because I know that he can render great service to the king in serving me as a spy and in sending to me letters of the Americans that may fall into his hands, in order to let Monsieur Le Baron see them. I find Etique every day more and more faithful and true to what he has promised me. Old Cornell is so glad that the Americans have killed his son that he would kiss their behind if they asked it of him. It is true that Seagrove wrote to him lately that he would have 200 piasters a year, and that when they had all the savages on their side he could count on him, and that, if he could assist in winning all the chiefs of this nation to be friends of the Americans and abandon the Spaniards, his fortune would be made. He also wrote that Congress waited only for the moment of the determination of the Creeks to decide upon a great operation, from which his fortune would result. It was Etique who told me word for word what he had seen and heard. I asked him why he had not brought this letter, and he replied that it was not his fault, for he had tried to get it to send it to me, but that his uncle had locked it in a small box, the key of which he carried in his pocket. If you wish to believe me you will not send anything to that old rascal Joseph Cornell, not even a sack of salt. Fear nothing, I shall be responsible for the consequences. The only thing that can bring him to reason is poverty, and if you will second me, it is the thing I am sure of. If you have the least doubt of my sincerity, ask his Negro Jack who is bringing you this letter. What does he think of his master, and why he is betraying his friend Milford? If he does not tell you that his master is a traitor, I beg you to believe me a liar. I believe it is easy to deprive him of his pay, and the government would be greatly the gainer by it."

I have a letter from Olivier from the old town of Weetonka, dated October 21, concerning his dissensions with Milford. He states that he is building a house, and as soon as it is done, which he hoped would be about the middle of this month, he will return to Orleans for medical treatment. On the 2nd of this month I sent to him by the trader Daniel McGillivray Your Lordship's open letter which Lanzos returned to me, and the sabre and bracelets for Spaniacho.

I have a letter of the 18th of October also from Durouzeaux in which he tells me nothing except what Galphin and Burges wrote. I enclose copies of their letters.

Day before yesterday the engineer arrived, and there are so many things to be done that I do not know where to begin.

Yesterday two barks arrived from Apalache, with letters from the first of the current month, by which it appears that at that time there was nothing new.

Some days ago John Taylor and Hare of the Cherokees came for a load of munitions. This makes ten of the fourteen which McDonald asked for.

Panton has received news from Providence by way of Orleans, and he promised to give me notes of it to send to Your Lordship. He also offers to send his schooner to that island to acquire fresher information, to which I believe I ought not to put any impediment in the present circumstances.

I offer my obedience to Your Lordship, and remain your most respectful servant and subject, who kisses your hands.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

OLIVIER TO CARONDELET

*December 1, 1793*<sup>139</sup>

No. 8.

I send enclosed to Your Lordship a general description of the towns of this nation, stating in it the number of their population, according to the knowledge that I have of it and the accounts that I have been able to get from the persons whom I believed to be in the best state to inform me of the part which I do not know except by report. I have not been able to carry out Your Lordship's intentions in this matter sooner because I had to wait until now for the report from the Lower Creeks, which was assigned to Durouzeaux. At the

foot of this statement there is a note of the goods and other articles which I consider most appropriate for the use and the satisfying of the taste of the Indians from the experience that I have with them. I am restricted in this by the small knowledge I have of what is customary to be given in presents to each individual.

The general statement is accompanied by three others in more detail. One of them describes the Alibamon towns and how many people should go from them to Mobile for the annual presents in accordance with the Treaty of Nogales. I include in this statement one town of the Creeks because it is situated on the Alabama River and affords its inhabitants, the same as the latter, the advantage of navigation of that river. They can go to Mobile and return more easily than to Pensacola, for which reason they prefer that place to this for the distribution of their presents. Another of the statements describes the towns of the Lower Creeks, who, in consideration of their location closer to the post of San Marcos de Apalache than to the fort of Pensacola, will prefer the former place at which to receive their presents, in case any are to be distributed at that post. The third detailed statement describes the towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks who are to gather for their presents at the fort of Pensacola. With this information I am certain that Your Lordship will be able to make the definite arrangement for the annual presents.

God preserve Your Lordship many years.

OLD TOWN OF WETONKA, *December 1, 1793.*

PEDRO OLIVIER (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

Statement of the towns of the different tribes of Indians which today compose the nation known under the name of Creek or Mas-koke, with information on their population taken from the best reports that the commissioner of His Lordship, Don Pedro Olivier, has been able to obtain in it, for the regulation of presents which are to be given annually to the aforesaid nation. It is divided into two parts, generally distinguished as Upper and Lower Creeks in the order of their establishments on, or in the vicinity of the rivers which water the immense extent of territory which the nation possesses. There follows at the foot of this statement, for the same purpose, a list of the goods and other things appropriate to the use of the nation mentioned and most to their taste.

## UPPER CREEKS

Names of the rivers	Names of the towns	Population of each town	Totals of the population
Alibamon .....	Cussathy or Concaty.....	420	.....
	Ochhaye .....	350	.....
	Tabacha .....	160	.....
	Pawacte .....	135	1065
	Taskiky .....	200	.....
	Little Talassy or Talsuchy.	195	.....
Cossa .....	Wiyoke .....	170	.....
	Pacana Talahassy .....	150	.....
	Wakokaye .....	200	.....
	Natche .....	450	.....
	Abecuche .....	125	.....
	Cossa .....	280	.....
	Yufalache .....	200	1970
	Mongulacha .....	190	.....
	Canchatke .....	90	.....
	Sawanoke .....	200	.....
Talapuche .....	Colome .....	200	.....
	Fusache .....	260	.....
	Cluale .....	420	.....
	Atassy .....	250	.....
	Tokepache .....	780	.....
	Grande Talassy .....	360	.....
	Chaglahache or Middle Town.	190	.....
	Yufala Grande .....	250	.....
	Cahelidgy .....	250	.....
	Ochhaye Grande .....	290	.....
	Laslocalga .....	360	.....
	Okfaske .....	860	.....
	Nuyaka .....	130	.....
	Oslatayga .....	300	.....
	Helabes .....	300	5680

## LOWER CREEKS

Names of the rivers	Names of the towns	Population of each town	Totals of the population
Chateauchy or Apalechicola .....	Wetonka .....	100	.....
	Cahuita .....	760	.....
	Licatska .....	250	.....
	Casista .....	900	.....
	Yuchy .....	550	.....
	Yusuchy or Chiaha Grande.	300	.....
	Etchity .....	480	.....
	Oconne .....	80	.....
	Palechocole .....	200	.....
	Sawocolo .....	300	.....
	Sawocoloche .....	110	.....
	Yufala .....	220	.....
	Oktehaene .....	115	.....
	Tabacha .....	100	.....
	Killimoske .....	120	.....
	Ockeha .....	125	.....
	Wifolotica .....	130	.....
	Canchate .....	115	.....
	Tamale .....	120	.....
	Chissehache .....	100	.....
Flint River .....	Mecassuke .....	220	.....
	Totawelle .....	100	5,395
	Sonostiska .....	190	.....
In the neighborhood of San Marcos.	Chicasahache .....	190	.....
	Little Chiaha .....	170	550
	Several small towns of Semanole Indians.	500	500
Total resume of the population.....			15,160 souls.

Rum, salt, and tobacco

Powder, ball, and flint stones

Woolen blankets (from one point to three)

Limbourg cloth (grain and half grain)

Baize, white and blue

Ribbon of wool and silk of all colors

Shirts of linen and calico or chintz with ruffles

The same of linen plain and striped

Chintz, calico, and handkerchiefs of cotton or flowered silk

Silk kerchiefs, sewing thread, needles, and awls

Ordinary linen, or nankeen, combs, mirrors, and flint steels

Hats trimmed with galloon for the chiefs and jackets for the same

Scissors, knives, and clasp knives of common quality

Razors for shaving, and vermilion paint



English muskets, axes and hatchets of all sizes  
 Hatchets with pipe and nails of medium size  
 Spurs, bridles, and saddles for the chiefs  
 Hoes, and beads or bugles

NOTE: In this statement a number of small towns are not mentioned, because they are dependent on other larger ones, and for this reason are included in the number of the population of the latter.

Old Town of WETONKA, *December 1, 1793.*

PEDRO OLIVIER (Rubric)

DUROUZEUX TO WHITE

*December 4, 1793*<sup>140</sup>

COWEITTAU, *4th December 1793*

*May it Please Your Excellence*

I Received yours of the 7<sup>th</sup> November Last and as to anything particular I have only to acquaint that thaer is a partey of the Lower Toune Indions gone out after the Georgians that had been against the Chehaw Vilege on flint River, but the Result of may be we cant tell as yett if they Should Do any Deperaidations it is Expected that Nothing but a Warr will Settle Matters With the Georgians. Mr. Seagrove is at the Tuckabatches, but how he has settled Matters With the Indions I have Not heard as the Haulowing King is not Returned yett from the Meetting-my faemelly is in Sutch a State of Health at present that I am not Sertin if I shall be able to Come to pensacola this Winter—If I Should not Come Doune I Shall aply to Mr Panton to Receve my Saellery and Give proper Receipts for the Same—but I shall Know that by the Time the Next pack horses Will come Doune and if I Should Not come I Shall acquaint your Excellence of every perticalor that may pass at that Time—I Concluded of having the plaser to be Your Excellence' Most Obediont & most Humble Sar<sup>t</sup>.

JA DUROUZEUX (Rubric)

His Excellence

HENERY WHITE Esq<sup>r</sup>.

(Addressed:)

His Excellence

HENERY WHITE Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Govenor & Comander in pensacola West Florida

<sup>140</sup> BL, (English).

## DUBOUZEAUX TO WHITE

[1793]<sup>141</sup>

*A Talk from the Haulowing King of the Coweittaus To His Excellence Henery White Esq<sup>r</sup>. Govenor & Commander in Chiefe of pensacola*

## FRIEND &amp; BROTHER

When I parted With you Last I Did promis to Lett you know all the News that was in our Nation. The Ammaracan Beloved man from the Vergainey people is Come into our Nation. He has had a Metting With the headmen of our Nation, We have heard his Talks and as they was Good only Wanting to macke a peace with us, Which agreed too until the Spring When We hoepe it Will be settled—as he only Demanded the White prisoner that was in our Nation to be Exchaenged for ours that they took from Hothle Tiga this fall. We have agreed to that, and they are to be Sent Doune Emaitedly When ours are to be brought home to us—We have Agreed that no Mischeffe Shall be Done this Winter, that no White person Shall come over a this Sied the Oceney Rive on any pertence Whatsoever, if any Indion Should steel a hors the White Shall not pursue him to Kill and the hors Shall be tacken and sent back Emaitedly to his Oaner. that by pursuing and Killing was not the way to keepe peace. that propertey could be Restoered When Life could not. that the Indions Should hunt to the banck of the Ocoeney onmolested by any Scoutt and if in Wont of provision he Should go over the river in paece and Gett provision from the White people. Mr. Saegrove the beloved man is to Stay in our nation until the Spring—Cap<sup>t</sup>. Oliveir the beloved has Told us the contents of the late Meeting at the Uzau With the fouer Nations and all the headmen Aproved of it and we all Singned the Articless. and it is thaer Menchaned that the bouendery Lines between our Nation and the Georgians is to be Setled at the Court of Spain We hoepe that we shall [have] justise Done us in that point. Which is one reson that we could not Setle Matters as yett and we Meen to have your advise in that bueseness as we Dont chuese to Do any thing without your aprobation furst—some of our princepel men Wanted to Kill one another without being ask<sup>t</sup>. The Tuckabatchey haed Worrior & the Head worrior of the Cusseittaus had agreed to Kill John Galphin on account of Mischeife at St. Marys. But I could not agree to any Sutch Doings before thaer Was a Nessesitey for itt but not before Matters were Setled farther. I intend to come Doune and see you about the furst of february. When I can haer from your Self what will be best to be Don for the Good of our Nation. and haer what the Govonor of New Orleance

<sup>141</sup> BL, (English).

advise us to Do, that we may Settle a paece with the Georgians  
All from your frend until I see you

YOUTHOLA MICO or Haulowing King

I Do certify the Above

JAMES DUROUZEUX

Interpr<sup>t</sup>. U. N. C.

(Addressed:)

His Excellence

HENERY WHITE Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Govonor & Commander in Chiefe in pesacola West Florida.

DE MILFORD TO CARONDELET

December 17, 1793<sup>142</sup>

CLOALY, 17th of December, 1793.

SIR: I take advantage of the person whom I am sending with my horses to Pensacola to drop you a line. Sigrot, according to what he said to me, was to come to see me, but he has not come yet. I think that the bad weather is the cause of it. You will doubtless be told that at Tuquebachet a large assembly has taken place, and I beg you not to believe anything about it, because anybody who may tell you about it does not know any more than I do; consequently, I believe it necessary to tell you the names of the village chiefs who were there, to-wit:

Lower towns or *Village den baa*

1. The Cosetit
2. The Coetit
3. The Ugittit
4. The Para Chouclat

The Center of the nation

1. Tuquebachet
2. The Otesi
3. The Cloaly
4. The Savannat
5. The Little Talisy
6. The Cousattoit or Alibamon

Upper town or *Village den haux*

1. Ocfosqui

Total 11.

That is the exact list of those who were present at this assembly. It is true that there were many people there, but they were mostly spectators and people who had come to see if they could pick up some presents.

<sup>142</sup> BL, (French).

Sigrot paid to Joo Cornel 600 piasters which were owed to him for three years' salary, and Mr. Olivier heard the piasters counted. After that the said Joo Cornel agreed to receive for the murder of his son 650 piasters. His son George is to leave within three days to go to receive the price of his brother's blood, to please his father. According to what I have been told, Sigrot is taking every step to encourage our traders to go to Rock Landing to get trading goods, and gives them to understand that they will be granted indemnification by the Congress, so that he will be in a position to give these goods to the savages for their satisfaction.

This makes me believe that he has an ulterior purpose unknown to them, and that we should take steps to co-operate with him. Allow me to tell you what I think about this. I think that it would be necessary for the interest of the King and to assure his frontiers to accord to the merchants who supply this nation a rather considerable sum so that they might thereby be able to supplant the Americans.

I repeat it again, I am afraid that the Americans will be victorious because of the quantity of presents which they make every day. It is true that the presents do not go to each one, but trading is a universal thing. Each one profits from it, and you may believe me, the one who will have the trade is sure to have the nation. I know that Your Excellency is too enlightened not to agree with him who has the honor of being, with a very deep respect for Your Excellency, the most humble, most obedient, and most devoted servant,

DE MILFORD (Rubric)

The BARON DE CARONDELET.

LETTER BY DE MILFORD

*December 17, 1793*<sup>143</sup>

[Copy]

*CLOALY, December 17, 1793*

SIR: The person who will give you this letter is one whom I am sending with my horses to get the articles which I have requested of Monsieur le Baron.

TO-WIT

300 livres of powder  
 600 " " shot  
 2 pieces of Limbourg cloth  
 2 dozen Shirts  
 1 cover piece

<sup>143</sup> BL, (French).

May I be so bold as to beg Your Excellency to give the bearer the covers which are needed to cover the ammunition.

I have the honor etc.,

DE MILFORD

I also make so bold as to beg Your Excellency to pay Tom Miller for the trouble he is taking in conveying my letters and the other objects which you are so kind as to send me.

(Rubric)

FOLCH TO LAS CASAS

*December 17, 1793*<sup>144</sup>

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: In conformity with the instructions which Your Excellency was pleased to send me under date of August 21, I have proceeded with all the care which has been possible for me to the examination of Tampa Bay. Persuaded that the most lengthy explanation does not give the knowledge afforded by the representation of the objects on a map, I immediately devoted myself to making one, despite the many inconveniences presented by the country.

As regards anchorages, depths, islands, channels, and shoals, I refer Your Excellency to the map which I enclose, where the first are marked with an anchor, and in order that feet may not be confused with fathoms, I make use of the former for greater clarity.

The bottom is generally of sand and small shells, except near Punta de Civelos, where it is of hard mud.

The banks, frequently subject to floods, are heavily overgrown with mangroves, *uversos*, myrtles, and thorns, so that in some places it is impossible to penetrate them, and in others very difficult.

There are, however, some stretches of beach here and there, where the swampy ground which precedes the solid ground extends for more than a mile.

Four rivers flow into this bay. The first called by the Indians Acachy, and by the Spaniards, Millian. It abounds in good woods for building, such as oak, live oak, and savins; but the pines are of little or no use, on account of their poor species.

This river is navigable for five leagues, its water salty throughout this distance, and its channel well-marked. Vessels drawing from 15 to 16 feet can enter at any time.

It has the defect that the channel is very narrow in some places. However, as the distance is short, I consider it an easy operation to get even a frigate of war into it, either by warping or sailing, in case of necessity.

In its inner part this river offers the best careening place that can

<sup>144</sup> AGI, Estado, SD, leg. 5.

be desired, not only on account of the perfect shelter which it enjoys, but also the abundance of good timber close at hand.

The river Manaties is navigable only by canoes for some six leagues. Both banks are swampy and what trees there are of low quality.

In the bay formed by the two points of this river at its lower part there is shelter for vessels drawing six or seven feet of water.

After this river comes the one called by the Indians, Nattasy, known by the Spaniards as the Río de los Ojos de Agua. Its depth at its mouth is five feet, and nine in the interior.

The water is salty for four leagues, and the place abounds in oaks, live oaks, and savins of better quality than those I saw on the river Millian.

The tree most common is the pine, and its quality excellent.

Among these two species are to be distinguished: one known by the name of white pine or *pino sapo*, and the other, red pine. The former can be used for masts, and when cut with the proper care it is difficult to find better anywhere. The red ones are preferable for the construction of buildings, because the greater quantity of resin which they contain nourishes them for a long time, and in the main makes them indestructible.

Proceeding farther up the bay, one finds the river called by the Indians, Tala Chakpu, and by the Spaniards, River of the Oysters on account of the many of these which block its entrance.

Here it has five feet of water, and one-half league from its mouth is a small stream which flows into the river.

Entering it for about fifty *varas*, one finds a spring of delicious water, which issues from a rock through an orifice eighteen to twenty inches in diameter.

This is the only place I have found of all that I have seen, suitable for a settlement.

This river has the same kinds of trees as the others. Their quality is equally good, and with the advantage of being thicker than elsewhere.

It is navigable for eight leagues, and as with the other three, its stream is perennial, but in flood only in the months of July and August, differing in this respect from the rivers of West Florida and Louisiana.

The land is sandy, sterile, and entirely unsuited for cultivation, except for some stretches along the banks of the river. These, being somewhat better, can produce cotton, vegetables, corn, and tobacco, and, in seven or eight years, indigo.

Despite the aridity of the soil, both the mainland and the adjacent islands are rich in good pastures, and can be used for the raising of all kinds of cattle.

In the vicinity of Tampa there are only two villages, called by the Indians, Cascavela and Anattylaica, and by the fishermen, Lachua and Jicho Jacho.

The former (as I infer from what the Indians tell me) is thirty leagues east of the said bay, and the latter ten northwest.

Cascavela has a large population, and its inhabitants own many slaves and large numbers of cattle of all kinds.

I have been told that the property of a mesitzo named Paine consists of twenty Negroes, 1500 head of cattle, and 400 horses, while the number of sheep and goats is so large that it is unknown. This village is composed of Savacolas and Hechityses.

The village of Anattylaica is composed of some eighty families, who own forty or fifty slaves and an abundance of all kinds of livestock.

These Indians have told me that whenever we fulfil our promise to establish a settlement at Tampa many of the tribes living to the north will come to settle in our vicinity.

These two villages reap good harvests of corn, rice, potatoes, pumpkins, various kinds of vegetables, and some green stuff.

I have not been able to ascertain the number of skins that these villages get every year, as it is impossible to learn this from Indians; but they have told me that they are many, and that they take them to St. Augustine, Apalache or Pensacola, according to where they are when they finish their hunts.

In exchange for the skins at these posts they are given blankets, *mitasas*, breechclouts, striped and white shirts, glass beads, vermillion, Limbourg shawls, saddles, bridles, spurs, woolen strips of various colors, knives, combs, mirrors, carbines, shot-guns, powder, bullets, flints, chintz, flannel, nankeen, thread, needles, bracelets, pins, and various other gewgaws of this kind.

They pay for these goods at the price prescribed by the tariff agreed upon at the congress held in Pensacola in the year 1784.

Before discussing the fort which it is planned to construct at that place, under the restrictions which Your Excellency imposes on me in Article 7 of my instructions, I shall give Your Excellency my ideas on the establishment of this settlement to the best advantage.

If the fort is made at Tampa for the sole purpose of maintaining its possession, resisting any treachery of the Indians, protecting the fishing or boats of our nation in that port, in addition to the cost of the fort and other works, it will have to be garrisoned by a detachment of at least fifty men, with their corresponding officers, four artillerymen, and one corporal.

It will be necessary to employ a chaplain, surgeon, and practitioner, for it is impossible to get along without these necessary adjuncts in such a district.

No less indispensable is a storekeeper, interpreter, master armourer, mason, carpenter, calker, baker, blacksmith, two shipmasters, twelve sailors, and some convict laborers. The monthly salaries of these, paid on the basis of those employed in Mobile and Pensacola, will amount to a little over 500 pesos, not including the daily ration furnished each man, the sole benefit resulting from all these expenditures being the assurance of our possession of that spacious bay.

Unless the settlement is of such a nature as to assure to His Majesty the possession of all the coast between Ensenada de Apalache and Boca Ratones, it is my opinion that the utility derived does not compensate for the cost; but as I believe that this project is of easy execution by increasing the cost a little, I shall give Your Excellency my ideas on the matter.

That part of the coast between the two points abovementioned has a length of one hundred and thirty leagues, and has in front of it a chain of islands forming a sort of barrier for it.

All these islands are very suitable for the raising of livestock of all kinds, because of their richness in pastures and abundance of water.

Moreover, they are near Havana, where salt meats are always sold at a good price, due to the large consumption of this item.

So, if those islands are populated with industrious American families, it cannot be doubted that we would shortly develop a profitable settlement.

As a start for this settlement fifty families would be sufficient. They would be scattered over these islands, taking care to spread them so that they occupy all that part of the coast; and as soon as the prosperity of the first ones attracted others, these would be placed in the intervals until the settlement is completed.

If, on any part of the coast, there are no islands, and it is advisable to settle families on the mainland to guard some port or shelter for vessels, there is no other disadvantage, in my opinion, than that the inhabitants would be more exposed to thefts by the Indians, but this is an evil which is not entirely without remedy.

The population having been disposed in this fashion, we would have no empty space on the Gulf of Mexico, a position very advantageous for us, particularly in case of a break with England.

No one cares to expatriate himself unless with the assurance of bettering his lot, and it will be indispensable to offer some advantages to the first fifty families who are proposed for the start of the settlement.

It seems to me that the best way would be for His Majesty to order published in the gazettes of New England, particularly Georgia, that, as it is desired to settle the coasts of East Florida from Ensenada de Apalache to Boca de Ratones, His Majesty offers the advantages



contained in the following Articles (with some variation, if thought necessary).

1. That all the individuals who, for the purpose of settling, come to take oath of fidelity before the governor of Tampa, will immediately enjoy the same privileges and exemptions as enjoyed by the other subjects of His Majesty in the two Floridas.

2. His Majesty will give, by way of compensation to the first fifty families who present themselves to the governor of Tampa twelve head of cattle, provisions for one year, and land suitable for the raising of cattle, according to the size of each family.

3. All the families who present themselves after the fifty prescribed in the preceding Article will receive only free lands and provisions for six months.

4. All individuals in the settlement will be granted the right to send to Havana or any other Spanish port, free of all duties, any produce or products of the country.

5. In order to encourage the raising of cattle and the salting of meat, which should be the principal industry of this population, His Majesty will command that the salt needed by the inhabitants be furnished from his stores at the same price as bought.

From this settlement there will result, in the first place, His Majesty's becoming the sole Lord of the Gulf of Mexico by evident possession and not by tradition, the force of which customarily alters with the times.

Second, we shall be without dread that on this deserted coast such a thing will happen to us as did at Nootka Sound, as we shall perhaps be able to foretell it with good reasons.

Third, it will put a stop to the English of Providence coming to fish and cut wood, and, what is still worse, to trade with the Indians of those tribes, communication which is harmful to us, because they are careful to spread among them ideas that are prejudicial to us.

By inducing the newcomers to engage in the salting of meat as it is the branch of industry which can bring them most profits, and as they are generally very skillful in this, it can be expected that, on account of its good quality and low price, foreigners will be excluded from this item of commerce. At present they are necessarily being admitted to it for lack of other recourse.

The Indians are beggars from necessity, because their sole occupation is the hunt, and this does not provide them enough to supply their needs. This results in their being seen continually occupied in resorting to our posts, asking for presents, and as these are now greatly diminished as a result of the recommendations of economy frequently made by the court, there is considerable ferment of discontent among these people.

If the settlement proposed is established, the inhabitants will be provided with all kinds of trade goods with which to buy cattle from the Indians, and they will get these at a very low price, because the Indian buys and sells without knowing the price of what he is giving, nor the value of what he obtains. The result of this will be that, although the inhabitants sell more cheaply, they will profit more, for this reason gaining the advantage over any competition.

By the method proposed it will be possible to keep the Indians and settlers in continuous traffic. The former will be supplied everything they need for their requirements, and then, without fear of bad results, the presents can be diminished until they are entirely abolished.

A settlement under these conditions has, as I have said, various advantages, and the cost occasioned can be considered well spent.

Bearing in mind that the fort must have sufficient size to contain quarters for its garrison, employees, bakery, and other necessary offices, and in view of the terrain I have selected and the objects which the fort can serve, I think it is advisable that it be a fortified quadrangle of fifty *toises* on the outside.

Its construction should be of lime and oyster shells, and the buildings and vaults of brick.

The materials, except the brick, are to be found within one league around the site of the work, and their transport very easy.

The clay for the bricks is to be found three leagues up river, according to what the Indians tell me, but as it can be brought by water, it can be obtained easily.

In case this settlement is established, its governor should, on account of its location, be under the captaincy-general of Havana. My sole purpose in so stating is the attainment of the perfection I desire.

If Your Excellency recognizes in me qualities proper for the discharge of what I propose, I beg that you will be pleased to recommend me to the Royal graciousness, recalling my petition for the rank of lieutenant colonel which Your Excellency was pleased to submit to the court in the month of April, this year.

May God guard Your Excellency many years.

HAVANA, *December 17, 1793.*

Most Excellent Sir,

VICENTE FOLCH (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor DON LUIS DE LAS CASAS.

## DE MILFORD TO CARONDELET

*December 23, 1793*<sup>145</sup>*CLOALY, 23d of December, 1793.*

SIR: Mad Dog and Clique Cornel came to sleep at my house the 19th of this month, and told me that they had gone to Mr. Olivier to ask him for the copy of the treaty of Yazo. He refused it, and rightly so, since they said that it was Sigrot and the old interpreter who had advised Mad Dog to do it, doubtless to enable Sigrot to send it to the Congress. Mad Dog asked me to tell you that his heart was filled with gratitude for the kindness you have done him. He asked me to tell you that Sigrot had insisted very much on concluding peace between them, but that he had done nothing, and that nothing would be done before spring, when I would be there and he would tell me to inform you of everything. Sigrot was to send 100 horses to Rock Landing to bring him presents, but he was able to find only 40, and one Woidreford went with them to bring them.

Clique Cornel seems to me quite displeased because you had not sent back Sigrot's letter, and particularly because, despite your promise, you had not sent him the commission and the medal. He said to me that his uncle had told them that Mr. Olivier had stated to him that you did not want to grant him anything for the services which he might render to me. I told him to be patient for six more weeks, and that at the end of September he would see that I had told them the truth, and that I should give him then the said commission and medal. If I do not give them to him at the time that I promised them, he will do nothing further for me, and I agree that he may call me a liar.

There has occurred a little scene between Sigrot and Mr. Olivier, which has been quite unpleasant to me. I wanted to keep quiet about it, but I think it would be lacking in what I owe to you if I should not tell you about it. Here it is: When Mr. Olivier arrived at the old interpreter's house, Joo Cornel and Sigrot were there, and there were also many savages. Sigrot and Mr. Olivier shook hands. After the usual compliments, Mr. Olivier took out from his pocket his commission and presented it to Sigrot. Sigrot read it and gave it back to him with a "Se bon" and a sarcastic smile. It was noticed by both the savages and white men who were there that Sigrot did not return him the same courtesy.

Is it possible that an officer of a great King should stoop to this degree before a republican who was still a rebel yesterday? It seems to me that, if I had been as weak as that, and if I had seen

<sup>145</sup> BL, (French).

myself ridiculed, I should have been chastened, but on the contrary, the next day after returning from the Great Hut he took out of his pocket a letter from Your Excellency in the presence of some white men and presented it to Sigrot so that he might read it. But Sigrot was more modest than he, and refused it, saying that he could not read Spanish or French. Mr. Olivier then explained to him what the letter contained.

Before Mr. Olivier left to return home, Sigrot sent his secretary called Helhom to take some messages to this officer, who is at Rock Landing by order of the Congress and Washington. According to what I see, Mr. Olivier does not want to leave here before his return. I cannot tell you what his reasons are, but may God forgive me for suspecting him.

Sigrot has sent his compliments to me, and has let me know that he begged me to come to see him since it was impossible for him to come back himself, because he has no horses. I told him that I was in the same position since I had sent my horses to Pensacola. He has told many people that there were many Frenchmen in Carolina and Georgia, and that these two provinces wanted to take up arms for them, but that the Congress had told them to remain quiet until spring and that it would decide on something then. Sigrot is a clever man and is sounding out the people. I think if he succeeds here it may cost you a lot. My opinion is that it would be a good thing to encourage the lower towns secretly to resume the hostilities in the spring. I shall do my best on my side; that is to say I shall give them as usual the messages which you will send me for them, so that these Americans may have nothing to say. Then afterwards I shall induce the chief, my friend, to follow my opinion, provided, however, that this is agreeable to you. I am sending you two gazetts which were brought here by Sigrot, and which I had Woidreford steal.

I cannot help telling you that every day I see the savages abandoning your interests. They have said to Mr. Olivier a number of harsh things about the Spaniards. They have also said a few things at my last gathering, which I did not deem it prudent to tell you. Olivier was present, and the old interpreter did not want to tell him what it was, but as I understand a little of what they say, I scolded them and shut them up, and I reproached them for their conduct towards the Spaniards, and they agreed that they were wrong.

If Mr. Olivier retains a vestige of honorable feeling, he will tell you what I told them, and he will also tell you that no foreign officer could tell them the twentieth part of it with impunity.

I will send you by the first opportunity a report of the whole

upper villages, following your instructions concerning the lower towns. I shall not be able to do it before spring.

Mad Dog and I have agreed that he should go and fetch the presents that you would be so good as to grant them, together with one of the principal chiefs of each village, and with one or two or three or four men, according to the importance of the village, to receive the gifts and bring them to their villages to be distributed in harmony with their rank and merits. I made him agree to this to spare a large expense to the government.

I have the honor of being of Your Excellency the most humble and most obedient and most devoted servant.

DE MILFORD (Rubric)

To the BARON DE CARONDELET.

PORTELL'S INSTRUCTIONS TO LORIMIER

*January 1, 1794*<sup>146</sup>

Instructions to DON LOUIS LORIMIER:

As soon as he leaves this fort to assemble the savage nations, the Loups and Shawnees in order to unite them with the Cherokees, whom we have notified, he is to take all necessary and suitable measures to find out and discover the real location of our enemies, who want to come to attack us from the Ohio River, the post of Vincennes, and other places which we cannot foresee. He shall have the nearest ones watched to ascertain their intentions, as well as the number of their men, the quantity of their provisions, gun boats, transport boats, guns, mortars, and all kinds of munitions of war. Furthermore, every time and whenever he shall find out anything about this expedition which is announced against us he shall make me an exact and written report so that I may send the original to My Lord, the governor general of the province, and so that I may take all possible precautions in line with my duty to receive them and repel them.

In order to carry out everything which is stated above with the greatest possible exactitude, he shall first select a man who knows how to read and write well, one who is discreet and circumspect, faithful, and worthy of his confidence. After his selection Lorimier shall find out whether he will accept and receive the mission. In that case, if he is at Ste. Geneviève, he shall present him to the commandant, to whom he shall give my instructions and who will receive the oath of the man whom he will present to him, and who will be his secretary. But if he is not at the said place or near there, he will receive the oath himself, in the presence of two or four witnesses, if

<sup>146</sup> BL., (French).

possible. He must merely mention in his oath that he will be discreet, circumspect, and faithful in everything that will be entrusted to his charge, and in faith, whereof he shall sign with the witnesses, agreeing to receive for the said charge the salary which the governor general of the province shall deem suitable to accord him. This clause will be included in the oath, the original of which he will send to me at the first and surest opportunity. He shall keep the copy of it certified by himself so that I may turn it over to the said lord governor general, and he may fix the salary and have it recorded at the principal treasury of the army.

For the purpose of arousing the savages and attaching them more firmly to our interests and to make them act more efficiently in the matters for which we need them, he shall give them presents, with the absolute proviso that they shall be neither excessive nor too small, but measured in accordance with general and reasonable custom, so that the government may have no cause to reproach him or me. He is warned that this applies equally to the provisions, kettles, powder, shot, arms, etc.; and he is to make a detailed record by classes, number of persons, nation, kind of article of everything which will be given. Of this he shall send me the original and keep a copy so that everything may be settled by the royal treasury. He shall add to it a certificate which will state that everything given to the savages had been so given in the presence of two or four witnesses, who shall sign as well as the secretary, not forgetting the ordinary mark of the said Don Louis Lorimier. This said certificate must be attested under oath.

It is known that the war which we are waging is against the French revolutionists, because of their pretension to establish a republic and strip our Lord and Master of his sacred rights. In consequence of this the said Don Louis Lorimier shall arouse against them and all those who shall support them and follow their flags, everyone of the savage nations, our friends, so they may commit against them all sorts of hostilities and exterminate them to the ultimate degree. The said savages are warned that this applies only to the French rebels and the Americans under their flag. They are particularly warned not to molest in any respect those of either nation who take no part in these matters, but who, on the contrary, are faithful and friendly and give us all possible assistance. That is why we must keep on strictly good terms with the inhabitants of the United States who do not mix in these affairs. In order that there may be no suspicion or doubt, the said savages shall act in accordance with the foregoing instructions against the rebels of the King of France and those allied to them, no matter from what nation.

All the foregoing has been heard by me in the presence of the

witnesses named hereafter, Don Barthelemy Tardiveau, Don Pierre Deroche, Don Antoine Gamelin, captains of the militias of this post, Don Robert McCay and Don Azor Rees, second-lieutenant of these militias, and attested by myself, military and civil commander of this post of New Madrid at Fort Celeste the first day of January, 1794.

TOMÁS PORTELL  
BARTHELEMY TARDIVEAU  
PIERRE DEROCHE  
ANTOIN GAMELIN  
ROBERT MCCAY  
AZOR REES

This copy in exact accordance with the original is dated the 3d day of January, 1794.

PORTELL TO CARONDELET

*January 3, 1794*<sup>147</sup>

No. 225

On the 31st of last December the Cherokees, of whom I speak to Your Lordship in my official letter No. 223, accompanied by two Shawnee chiefs and a Luz, asked permission to speak to me as soon as possible. At that time Don Louis Lorimier was here as I had sent for him with the object of consulting him in regard to arousing the Indian nations friendly to us in accordance with what Your Lordship directed me on this point. I charged Lorimier to find out, more or less, what they wished to talk to me about. After he had carried out my orders, he explained to me that it was necessary to hear them personally. When they were brought in, the three nations together manifested to me their great desire to take our side. and to be employed in any way they could serve us. They begged of me nothing more than that I should take pity on them and their families. who, if I would admit them, would be settled for their defense and security on the Hotaiia River by the Cherokees and the others in the places where they were building their houses. On such an occasion I could not refuse to receive them with open arms, after which they arranged that their families should go yesterday to the said river. They themselves are ready to go tomorrow to guard the passes which Lorimier assigned to them. The party of Luz and Shawnees, who are building the house below the fort are to remain in this vicinity, ready to serve as light troops, and they are to assemble in this neighborhood as soon as they possibly can. I gave

<sup>147</sup> BL.

presents to those who are going with Lorimier and I shall do the same with the rest who remain in this post, everything in accordance with what is done in such cases, endeavoring to obviate all waste.

Lorimier is going with the Cherokees to join the Luz and Shawnees who are going to the point of the Ohio River and other passes necessary to our enemies. The instruction which I enclose to Your Lordship is a copy of that which I delivered to Lorimier. He told me that it was not proper that he should go without it. I hope Your Lordship will find it to your pleasure.

I permitted Lieutenant of Militia Don Francisco Lesicor and his brother José, sergeant of the same branch, who are acquainted with some of the Indian languages of this vicinity and their customs and manner of warfare, to go, and assigned them to accompany the Indians to the places most suitable for making attacks and pursuing the enemy wherever they may find them. Lorimier has shown me that without this assistance they would not work with skill and efficacy.

A spy has just gone today to observe the enemy from the point of the Ohio River as far as the Falls. He will give me information as he acquires it until the dissolution of the grand convoy. He has not yet put any price on his services, but he is satisfied with what Your Lordship may assign to him after he has shown his merit, and when he will go down to that place to make a report.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *January 3, 1794.*

TOMÁS PORTELL (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

THE WHITE LIEUTENANT AND MAD DOG TO THE  
CHIEFS OF THE CHOCTAW NATION

*January 19, 1794*<sup>148</sup>

TOWN OF TUCKABATCHEE

No. 2.

CREEK NATION *19, January 1794*

A Talk From the White Lieutenant of the Oakfuskee and the Mad Dog of Tuckabatchee, who are empowered by the Creek Nation to send it to the wole of the Chiefs of the Chactaw Nation

Brothers We are desird by our Nation to send you a friendley talk and to acquaint you that our Land hath been in much confusion and trouble for some years past owing to bad men who comes among us and bad Talks that hath been at different times sent into our Nation endeavoring to make us do mischief to our friends and neighbours

<sup>148</sup> BL, (English).



both white and Red Maney of our people always considered such Talks so very bad but we are like other Nations have made people among us who likes mischief and are pleased with bad talks

The Eyes of our whole nation we think is now open and it is detirmined by the Chiefs of our Land that we Establish afirm and lasting Peace with all Nations and people For this purpose we are to have a general Meating of our Nation the Coming Spring at this Town wheare we wish to have three or four of your princible Chiefs to assist us with theire Council and to Brighten and Strengthen the Chane of friendship between us

It is our wish that some of the Chiefs will come who were preasant at a Treaty made at the Walnut hill in the Yaso Cuntry last Summer with the Spanards as we wish infirmation of what was realy done thar we being mutch at aloss on that head at preasant We have sent a talk to our Brothers the Chicasaws & Cherokees desiring thare Atendence the one for the Chickasaws you have enclused and we must request you will forward it without delay by a safe hand the time we wish you to arrive heare is the last of the next moon—do not let it be longer this Comes from your friends and Brothers—

THE WHITE LIEUTENANT OF THE OAKFUSKEE  
MAD DOG OF TUCKABATCHES

TO TUSCABULAPO MINGO of the Macaw Town

The Abecocoochee King and other Chiefs they May Chus to Bring

FAVRE TO LANZOS

*January 20, 1794*<sup>149</sup>

*TOMBECEBÉ, 28th of January, 1794.*

SIR: I have delayed writing to you until now because there was no opportunity to let you know that the late Degrange has left at his death a mulatto woman, about forty-five years old, two geldings, two mares, and a few small effects, which are in the hands of Mr. Smith. The dead man owed a few things to several people in the nation, and as Mr. Delavillebeuvre is slow about it, I beg you to send me your orders on this matter.

Some Chactaws, returning from the hunt, report that the Americans have beaten a large party of Cherokees on the Mississippi and that there is a great rumor in this nation to the effect that they are coming to destroy them.

There is nothing else to let you know for the time being. Allow me, Sir, to take the liberty of asking you for some news of Mr. Delavillebeuvre. He was to be back here sometime this month. I

<sup>149</sup> BL, (French).

have received no letter from him. When I was at Nogales I received permission from Mr. Delavillebeuvre to spend the winter at Tombecbé and to settle there. Since the government has agreed with the Chactaws to send them their presents there, I am working with the constant fear of wasting my labors. That is why I take the liberty of asking you to let me know if I may continue working. You will oblige the one who has the honor of being, with respect and submission, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

SIMON FAVRE (Rubric).

To Monsieur DON MANUELLE DE LANSOSE, captain of regular troops, commander of the fort and dependencies of Mobile.

VALLÉ TO PORTELL

*January 22, 1794*<sup>150</sup>

I have the honor to inform you that the chief of the Loups has arrived last night with a party of his people, and the remainder are to come soon. Since I have been warned by Monsieur Trudeau that ill-intentioned men had attempted to mislead and deceive them, I held a council soon after their arrival in the presence of Monsieur de Luziere and Monsieur Pratt, Sr. I gave them a message on your behalf. After MM. de Luziere and Pratt had told them the truth about the circumstances which required all to bend all their efforts to prepare for the war in this colony, and about the falseness of the statement made to them by perfidious persons for the purpose of deceiving and misleading them, our Indians gladly accepted the collar and the message that I gave them on your behalf. They are going to leave without delay for Cape Girardeau and go on to your place. As a consequence of the great trust which this nation has always shown towards me, I spared no means to make them well-disposed toward the war, and I make bold to guarantee to you that you will be quite satisfied with them. Among these warriors there is a war chief called Pepecousason who is very influential. I have also placed him in a favorable state of mind and I beg you to give him personally some proofs of your affection.

You will surely be glad to know also that in a previous council which I held with the Peorias, they similarly accepted with joy the collar and message of war which I gave them. I inform you also, Sir that with the aid of MM. de Luziere and Pratt, we hope to bring back to the fold the Chief Decoigne of the Kaskaskias, who has done us such harm in the nations around St. Louis, and to un-

<sup>150</sup> BL, (French).

deceive all of them by inducing them to go to war against our enemies. Although superior orders have deprived me of the pleasure of serving under you, I am at least seizing all opportunities to help the service of your district with all the means in my power.

God have you in his holy keeping,

FRANÇOIS VALLÉ

ST. GENEVIÈVE *January 22, 1794*

MONSIEUR PORTELL

CHIEF OF THE LOUPS TO TRUDEAU <sup>150a</sup>

Talk which the chief of the Loups begs his father, M. Zenon Trudeau to give on his behalf to the savage tribes of his post and dependencies.

My Children,

I have finally seen the light, clear and cloudless, and I am going to tell you the exact truth. They have deceived us all in making us think that the army of the whites which proposed to come into our lands was composed of subjects of our good old French father. This band is composed only of robbers and brigands whom they engaged at Red Bluffs on the frontier of Kentucky and towards Cumberland, and whose only intention is to spoil our roads, which are very smooth, rob our brothers, the whites, and massacre our women and children.

It is also true that this band which is said to be coming onto our lands in the name of the French, is not coming in the name of those good French who have, as we do, our French father in their hearts, but rather in the name of those bad French who have cut off this good father's head, and on whom all the nations of the world beyond the great lake are waging a bloody war.

They have also deceived us in assuring us that the Great Chief of the Big Knives wanted us to remain quiet and not raise the tomahawk against this army which was to come onto our lands. On the contrary, it is very certain that the Great Chief is opposed to this raising of troops, and that he has sent word to the Spaniard at L'Anse à la Graisse and to you at St. Louis to advise that this raising of troops was carried out despite his prohibitions.

In view of these facts, my children, of which I guarantee you the exact truth on my head, I have not hesitated to accept the word, and the collar which our vailiant father at L'Anse à la Graisse has had sent to us, and to assemble on our lands without delay with our tomahawks well reddened in order to defend our level roads.

I invite you, my children, to go to see your father at St. Louis face to face, when he will give this talk, and to join with him in preventing their spoiling our roads.

<sup>150a</sup> BL, (French).

If we thus conduct ourselves as warriors, our good father, the Spaniard, will protect us more than ever. The darkness will disappear and the heavens, again serene and cloudless, will favor our hunts, which will bring us the greatest happiness.

Signed:

LE POINT DU JOUE  
Chief of the Loups.

WHITE TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*February 1, 1794*<sup>151</sup>

MERO DISTRICT *Feb<sup>y</sup>. 1st 1794*

DEAR GOVERNOR: I do not forget that you enjoined me to write to you from this country. I have done accordingly; & I would have written oftener had I been in possession of any information worthy of your attention. On the present occasion, I am tempted to send you my respects as I am told that the chikesaw indian, Thompson, goes immediately to the Natches, & there is a subject which concerns the duties of your office, in some measure. It has been frequently said in this country, that reports have gone down to Louisiana of attempts of desperate men to infest your Settlements in a hostile manner. Such reports have been hitherto without the least foundation. But I am sorry to inform you that, now, thro' french agency, attempts are making to stir up a spirit of hostility against you, here, & in Kentuckey. Some french men employed, it is said, by the national convention, or, I should suppose, rather their jacobin minister in Philad<sup>a</sup>. are taking advantage of that turbulent spirit that is of often found in new countries. They are sending to this place french commissions with large promises: but hitherto not a denier of money. Should this come it is possible you may be put to some little trouble. Without it the whole of this lawless attempt must miscarry. It is hard for the law, among us, to take cognisance of these offenders, as they evade it by engaging their men, not as soldiers, but as water-men for the purposes of commerce. Their leader here is a Col. Montgommery; a man who has the intrepidity necessary for desperate enterprizes. He had a great share in taking the illinois Country from the english. General Clark in Kentuckey, who is said to have military talents, were they not obscured by the *glass*, is their commander in chief in Kentuckey; & one Loggan, a man of a popular character, is second to him. After all I must declare I hardly think the business can go on against law, justice, & common sense.

There is an other affair which may be productive of consequences hereafter. I mean an attempt to associate the whole western

<sup>151</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

country, under the name of the democratic Society. It is originating in Kentucky. The plan of it seems to have in view to bring the people on this side the mountains to think, & act, independent of the eastern States. I have given you this hasty sketch, & I hope you will excuse its being negligently written, which is owing to my being hurried.

I am with most sincere Respect

Your excellency's obed<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JAMES WHITE.

ROBERTSON TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*February 1, 1794*<sup>152</sup>

MERO DISTRICT NASHVILLE *1st Feb<sup>y</sup> 1794*

SIR I wrote Some time ago to the Commandant of New Madrid informing him of an intended invasion of the Spannish Settlements on the Mississippi by a party from this Country & Kentucky, under french Commissions, at the Same time I sent on my answer to His Exc<sup>v</sup> the Barron of Carrondelet's letter to me; but least they Should by any means Miscarry, I have taken this Oppert<sup>y</sup>. of writing you on the Same Subject.—The Expedition seems to be going on Spiritedly though they have not yet received any Supplies of money; and should they be disappointed in this the Enterprize must of course fail. They have already Sent an advanced party to take post at the Mouth of Cumberland river chiefly composed of desparadoes and indeed few others seem to have embarked in the business.—

Our Government is far from promoting their Measures, but on the contrary have constantly opposed them; the Nature of it however is such, that every man under it is at liberty to go where, and when he pleases; though Congress will no doubt take Such steps as are proper on the Occasion.—

I have the honor to be with Esteem Sir

Your Most Obed<sup>t</sup>. Hum Servant

JAMES ROBERTSON (Rubric)

(Addressed:)

His Excellency MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS Governor of the Natchez

JAMES TO COMMANDANT OF MOBILE

*February 11, 1794*<sup>153</sup>

*February<sup>th</sup> 11 Day 1794* CHACTAW NATION BOOGTOOKE TOWN

SIR The within Clos'd Coppey of aletter that I send you is a Coppey of aletter Came to my hands from the Creeks Six days agoe

<sup>152</sup> AGI. PC, leg. 2371 (English).

<sup>153</sup> BL, (English).

by a Creek halfbreed having no Commesarey Cannot Come to the sight of Mr. faver as yet I have thought Propper to send this to your Hands by Express: as there is no talk held as yet but there is an appoyntment for a talk by the Indians of this Nation in ten days and the Chichesaws sent for; I therefore desir an answer in that time: as I donot beleive that the talk Came heare by orders of aney Spanish officer: if it has I make no doubt but you have Intillegence from the Commesarey in the Creeks of the same.

I have done this of my own head with the advise of a Couple of Chieffs of this Nation whether right or Wrong I hope if wrong you will Excuse I have no orders from government for it: I have Promised: the Express two Indians one Cagg of Taffey Each to be back in time and shirt and flap: if you See Cause to Pay it the taffey they let stand for another Day. the Purpose of this Express you will Observe by the Inclos'd talk Sign:d by no white man nor no letters drected to aney White man

I am your—Most Ob<sup>t</sup>

BEN: JAMES

(Addressed:)

To Commanding officer at Mobile Comanding his Most Catholick  
Majesties forces Cyvill and Millitarey  
by Express—

LANZOS TO [CARONDELET]

*February 12, 1794*<sup>154</sup>

The interpreter Simon Andry told me the following in the presence of the Indian:

A warrior of the Choctaw nation named Chilitatrambé of the village named Conchá, says he is sent expressly by the chief of the small medal of the same nation named Naclayohayaoma of the village of Pacahonca, and a head man of the village of Yasocosa called Chafatansá, to tell the chief of Mobile to inform their Great father of New Orleans, that the fort which he is planning to build at old Tombecbé does not suit them, partly because it places the house too far from pasture. Moreover, the said place is situated where the river ends, and it would cost a great deal of labor to transport goods and presents. Thus, on account of this impossibility, necessities would be lacking to them.

He adds that they have taken into consideration that the whites go on asking for their lands little by little, and that they, in order not to appear ungrateful, have granted them as far as the place named Achaetepé; and now they want them up to the said Tombecbé, which

is a considerable distance. He states that not all the warriors of the nation are content to agree, for the reasons expressed, and also because they are compelled to look for their means of living with their guns.

He goes on to say that the great chief of the Chickasaw nation called Oclayacabe and the chief of the Alibamones named Solushania said to the Choctaws: "Brothers, do you not see that when the whites are given the lands, although they are truly our friends, after Tombeché is well fortified, they will abandon it to the Americans, who will finish with you little by little, without your perceiving it? Your last days are approaching."

What the Choctaws desire is to receive the presents at the place where their Great Father of Orleans has promised them.

MOBILE, *February 12, 1794.*

MANUEL DE LANZOS (Rubric)

This is literally as it was translated for me from the Choctaw language or jargon into French and from this into Spanish. The witness is Don Miguel Eslava, who wrote the original which is in my possession.

LANZOS (Rubric)

#### WARNING AGAINST REVOLUTION

*February 12, 1794*<sup>155</sup>

#### CIRCULAR ADDRESSED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO ALL THE INHABITANTS OF LOUISIANA.

Inhabitants of Louisiana, ready to fall into the trap which infamous seducers, spread amongst you, have been setting for you for a year, learn the danger which is threatening you. Open at last your eyes to the most evident truth, and be warned by the murders, the fires, the devastation of France and of its colonies. Prevent by your firmness the same fate, which is being prepared for you by rascals who have been chased out of the Island of Santo Domingo whose ruin they have caused and who were sent to the Ohio by the so-called minister of the Convention, Genêt, to repeat the same scenes of horror amongst you.

Nothing is more false than the news that a body of French troops has arrived on the Ohio. Three rascals, escaped from the Cape, left New York in October with despatches from Genêt to gather at the Ohio Falls a band of vagabonds but they are without money because the letters of exchange of which they were bearers were protested in Kentucky. In January, they were barely able to gather a certain number of American brigands and French refugees by promising

<sup>155</sup> BL, (French).

them to sack Louisiana and to give to each one of them the choice of one thousand acres of land in that province.

Having no artillery, they are counting upon that of New Madrid in order to attack Nogales, but even if they should seize the Fort of New Madrid (which would not be surprising because it is guarded by only thirty men) they will not be able to take Nogales with four pieces of four and two pieces of eight. Already the United States is publishing a proclamation expressly forbidding their inhabitants to take part in that expedition either directly or indirectly. Already Major Hamilton and Mr. Drayton, Secretary of the Government of Charleston, have been arrested and tried by order of the Congress for having favored the views of Genêt, who himself has fallen into disrepute and has been forced to return to France.

Will you let yourselves be deceived by the false hopes of a liberty, an equality which they have been unable to set up in France or in its colonies, despite the torrents of blood which have been flowing for the last four years, because they can exist nowhere on earth?

In the first year of the revolution, one-fourth of each individual's income was taken away from him, and in the third year, one-half. Every Frenchman, without exception, under penalty of death, was sundered from his family, and made to march under arms.

The freedom of the press, a fundamental law of the constitution, was infamously violated and pitilessly bloodstained through the massacre of those who wrote against the acts of the members of the Convention or against the republican principles.

The king and the queen were iniquitously condemned and executed without being able to enjoy the six weeks' respite granted to the lowest scoundrel by the new criminal code.

The immunity of the members of the Convention, decreed by the constitution, has been violated by the execution of twenty-one of its members in one single day. All France is divided into enemy parties and is nothing but the scene of massacre and horrors; and if Santo Domingo is beginning to enjoy some respite, it is due to the fact that the inhabitants have abjured their first principles and have submitted to the English and Spanish governments, to which they themselves have appealed. The Negroes themselves, after being alternately tossed about by rival parties, victims of the mad hopes of freedom which they had entertained and which was secured by the massacre of a great number of their bravest men, have voluntarily submitted to the Spanish government, and have returned to their duty.

The looting and loss of your property, the massacre of your families, the renewal of all the calamities which have devastated Santo Domingo, those are the things which are being planned for you by the monsters who have escaped from the Cape, and who are gathering on the Ohio. They are raising before you the ghost of liberty in



order to set you in opposition to one another, and to profit surely from the remains of your fortunes. The scenes of horror which they are preparing will doubtless surpass all those which they have perpetrated at Santo Domingo since, instead of national troops, they will be able to employ only unpaid, insubordinate, and undisciplined vagabonds.

Ready to lead you if you remain united and if you proceed to the place I shall tell you, I guarantee you on my head, brave inhabitants, that the enemy shall not pass Nogales. If, on the contrary, I notice amongst you nothing but discord, distrust of the government and lack of enthusiasm for the common cause, I shall limit myself to defending the places entrusted to me by the King. I shall proclaim to the whole world that I shall remain blameless for the calamities that you will have brought down upon yourselves and for the anger of a sovereign who has constantly heaped his benefactions upon you in the twenty-three years that you have been living under his laws; for it is useless to deceive yourselves.

The extremity at which the so-called Republic finds itself will never permit it to make an advantageous peace, even if it should succeed in having itself recognized by the enemies of France. Louisiana, having by then become pacified (assuming against all appearances that it would have been conquered through the fault of its inhabitants), could no longer expect the advantages and exemptions which she enjoys, and which render her the happiest and most peaceful province of America.

The statement, based solely on the most precise truth and on the great interest which I take in your happiness, will, I hope, dispel the doubts which they are trying to inspire in you; but, should someone desire even more convincing proof of its veracity, I shall be pleased to show him the incontestable proofs on which it is founded.

In our government mansion at NEW ORLEANS. *February 12, 1794.*

LE BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

INNES TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*February 14, 1794* <sup>156</sup>

KENTUCKY *February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1794*

When one stranger writes to another it is usual to make some Apology upon the supposition of intrusion, this I think unnecessary when the subject affects the person addressed or the government of which he may be an Officer. Impressed with the latter idea I shall venture to make some observations to you Sir relative to the naviga-

<sup>156</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

tion of the Mississippi River which is now become absolutely essential to the happiness of the Inhabitants west of the Alleghany Mountains.

From your situation I cannot doubt your want of knowledge as to our increasing *wealth & population*, it can therefore be no matter of surprise to you to be informed that the people of Kentucky are extremely desirous of obtaining from the Court of Spain such privileges as may enable them to export by way of the Mississippi their surplus commodities, which from the industry of the Farmer & fertility of soil are become very abundant.

To give you an idea of the prevailing sentiments of the people of Kentucky on this all important subject, enclosed is an Address to the Western people of the United States & a Remonstrance from them to the Congress, both of which are generally approved by the Inhabitants of this State; altho' there is an expression in the remonstrance which indicates offensive measures but I can assure you Sir, that it is considered by the thinking people to be the last recourse & only to be resorted to when every other mode of application to obtain that which we conceive to be our joint right proves ineffectual . . . [Line cut off] Your Nation reciprocal & adequate advantages.

I have been informed that Baron Carondelet in a late confidential communication, declared that the Court of Spain was disposed to grant to the inhabitants of the United States residing on the waters of the Mississippi *certain Priveledges on certain Conditions*. Hints of this kind will amuse us but a little while, if therefore your Court hath any serious intentions of making propositions to the people of Kentucky there is no time to be lost in coming forward with the proposals. they must be libberal & such as may promote the interest of both Nations & secure the support of the influential characters of this State in their favor.

Should you incline to carry on a confidential correspondence with me, it will be necessary to prepare a Cypher for my safty to prevent an intercepted letter operating to my prejudice as you know Sir that I hold an Important & Lucrative office under the American Government. Send your answer by one conveyance & the Key by another.

You no doubt have had various reports respecting an expedition under the auspices of General Clark down the Mississippi—it is a project carried out by him (& it is said) the French Minister it is unsupported by influence, it will therefore unquestionably fail as it has not the essential ingredients money & Influence.

Our friend Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wilkinson was in good health the 27th ultimo & I flatter myself is in the fair road to Honor & Preferment

I am with great respect & esteem

Sir you mo. ob. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

HARRY INNES

## CARONDELET TO FILHIOL

*February 16, 1794*<sup>157</sup>

Replied 3d of April, No. 4.

No. 15.

The preparations which several French vagrants are making on the Ohio for the purpose of troubling Louisiana have alarmed this colony. I have deemed it necessary to reassure the inhabitants by telling them exactly what is going on and enlightening them as to the insidious actions of some agents scattered in Louisiana, who have nothing to lose and hope to take advantage of the confusion which they are trying to create there by their pernicious speeches, or by exaggerating the resources of the enemy.

Consequently, I am turning over to you the two enclosed copies which you will pass around and have read to the inhabitants assembled by your order, according to your judgement as to what is the easiest and most suitable means.

God have you in His holy keeping.

LE BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

NEW ORLEANS, *16th of February, 1794*

To MR. FILHIOL.

## LANZOS TO CARONDELET

*February 19, 1794*<sup>158</sup>

No. 523

Expressly commissioned by his chiefs, the Indian named Chiltahambé came to relate to me what is contained in the document which I enclose to Your Lordship with No. 1.

This was followed by another from the interpreter Simon Fabre, with the letter which I also enclose with No. 2. A little while later another express messenger came from the Choctaw nation with the letter and message contained in No. 3.

I replied to the first by referring to the force of the treaty which the greater part of the chiefs of his nation had signed in the congress at Nogales. To the second I answered that in a short time Commissioner Don Juan de la Villebeuvre might be expected there with everything necessary for the fort, that is, if no obstacles had presented themselves to Your Lordship to cause you to deviate from the last orders which I have received. To the third, I give thanks for their activity in giving the information. I believe it to be no cause for anxiety, since the official to be named lieutenant general will be com-

<sup>157</sup> BL. (French).

<sup>158</sup> BL.

missioner Milford, unless it should be the famous Bowles whom Your Lordship sent to Spain. This information was given to me by the commandant of San Estevan who tells me that an inhabitant named Becar, who has a sister married to him, told him that he ought to arrive from London, and that he believes he may be already in the Creek nation. I inform Your Lordship of all this for your guidance.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

MOBILE, *February 19, 1794.*

MANUEL DE LANZOS (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

FRANCHIMASTABE TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*February 23, 1794*<sup>159</sup>

FEB<sup>RY</sup> 23<sup>th</sup>, 1794

CHOCTAW NATION

No. 1.

OLD FRIEND AND BROTHER This Comes to Let you no that I am well and hope this will find you in the Same

This is to Let you no that I am a man of a Strate hart and one talk and dont want to tell you lyes nor to hid any talk from you—

I Believe in you and you Believe in me Our Acquaincence is Small but the Chaîne of our Frindship is Grate We are bound to hid no bad talks from Each other

The Silver wair that was Sent from the Stats to me I did not Send for it for that reason your hart will tell you what Sattisfaction you will make for it

ONE PEASE OF STRAND

Old Friend I have not for Got your Talk but I shall for Bare Beging I am old and Is a Red man I Cant Make nothing But Children For that Reason I shall Leave it to your one hart to Send Me Just what you Please I think Its is too hard for me to Send for what is not Mine and and to Beg I never did I shall Leave ite to your one hart to Scend By my Nephfew what you think is Best for an ole Red man

You have Seen and heard Everything there is Pasing and My Nephfew will in form you of the talk that we hav now—

I have nothing to Inform you of More that you will heare—

So no more But Remaine With Esteem your Sincere Friend and Brother

FRANCHMASTABIA

To His Excellency DON MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOUS

<sup>159</sup> BL. (English).

## INNES TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*March 16, 1794*<sup>160</sup>KENTUCKY *March 16th 1794*

SIR: The bearer hereof Mr. Adam Shepherd having communicated to me his intention of going to New Orleans on commercial business: I take the liberty of observing that my acquaintance with Mr. Shepherd hath existed nine years, during which time I have had many transactions with him, & in every instance he appeared the man of Probity; in justice to Mr. Shepherd I must add that his general character is that of an upright virtuous citizen & a person who merits every indulgence which may be consistent with the commercial regulations of your Government.

I presume you are no Stranger to the attempts of certain characters among us who being stimulated from *abroad* have been making some *feeble* attempts to excite our Citizens to hostilities against Louisiana: I am happy to inform you that it is not supported by any influence & is from the present appearances entirely subsided.

I am with great respect Sir your mo. ob. Servt.

HARRY INNES

MR. GAYOSO

## DE MILFORD TO CARONDELET

*March 26, 1794*<sup>161</sup>CLOALY, *25th of March, 1794.*

TO THE BARON: I take advantage of this opportunity to beg you to send me or to allow me to appoint a white man to take and bring back your letters. If I send a savage, I am responsible for him if anything happens, but what is worse and most dangerous for the service of the King, we cannot trust any of them any more.

I have lately sent the chief of Ottisy to Pensacola. He has been back for the last eight days, with some letters for me. Despite all my efforts I cannot locate him, so that I fear he has sold my letters to Sigrot. This same chief is one of those to whom you gave a commission and a large medal last winter. He was recommended to you by McGillivray, Olivier, and myself. He is a great friend of Mad Dog, a thorough-going rascal, and devoted to the Americans. There is no crime which he is not ready to commit. I have recently received a letter from Mr. White, commandant at Pensacola. He said to me that, if there were some villages whose people had not received their present of ammunition, I could give them a paper and that they

<sup>160</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).<sup>161</sup> BL, (French).

should go to see him, and he would give it to them. Well, Sir, this rascal, Mad Dog, has had the impudence to say to me that I should not mention this to the savages. I told him that it was necessary for them to know it, and that I would tell it to them. He then threatened me, which did not prevent me from telling it to them.

Everything is going so badly here now that it seems to me that one-half of this nation is getting ready to destroy the other half. As for me I am threatened every day, and look forward to nothing except being massacred one of these days. If this should happen, revenge me by killing this rascal Mad Dog. I demanded satisfaction for that man who was killed near St. Augustine, and they have made me no response.

Allow me, Sir, to tell you that I believe that the presents which you want to give to them would be put to a much better use if you should give orders to all the chiefs to come down to Pensacola or Mobile to hold a congress. There, after speaking to you, they would receive their presents. You have here many friends, and, if you do, this, it will counteract the measure of the friends of the Americans. Furthermore, I should come down with them.

Sigrot does not hide the fact that the Americans are soon to attack you by the Mississippi, and that all the inhabitants are to join them; that is to say, all the Americans to whom the Spaniards were imprudent enough to give refuge. He even pretends that the French creoles will join them. He says that there are people among them who have promised that at the first signal there would take place a general upheaval, and that the Spanish garrison would be destroyed by the people whom they trust most. In connection with this, allow me, My Lord Baron, to make a few remarks. I hope you will be so good as to forgive me if they do not please you.

In order to save Louisiana in case the Americans should come down the Mississippi, we ought to arrest all the inhabitants who have settled since the peace on the Mississippi River or its surrounding territory and have them conducted to a safe place where they cannot have any intercourse with the Americans as long as the war lasts. We should gather all the old residents so that they may serve as a militia. No creole should be named to command it. They should be commanded by a European officer. There should be among the officers no Frenchmen except those who have grown old in the service of the King of Spain, and whose conduct is irreproachable and no creoles from the colonel to the sergeant. The militia men should be on duty with the regular troops. They ought to be distributed according to their district, and receive their orders from the commander of the regular troops. The militia men should be sent as far away as possible from their homes so that they may be more active and bring

the war to a prompt close, in order to return to their families. I believe that, if we follow this plan, the Americans will be foiled because they are sure that they are going to be helped by the inhabitants of Louisiana. When they see that these inhabitants do not join them, they will come down the river hoping to be joined by the French who are in New Orleans, and then it will be quite easy for you to destroy their expedition. By having their plans frustrated, they are likely to go down to the mouth of the river to escape, and there you might have some galleys with two or three frigates to finish the remainder of the expedition. As I believe that this will take place I have no doubt whatever that such an expedition will cure the Americans for some time of their desire to navigate the Mississippi. I had already made my preparations and was having pleasant expectations of going to the *Ecors à Margot* when I saw the expedition break down. However, I beg you to believe that I might have had a large party if I had wanted to go against what they agreed to in their council. I would yet have done it if Sigrot had not said at the council that, if I gathered savages to go to war, he would immediately give to the savages of his party all the necessary means to attack eastern Florida. In view of this I thought it more prudent not to do anything before letting you know, and await your orders as to this matter.

Sigrot has bribed many savages with his presents and I am mortified to see nearly all the white men who are here joining him. I wish to God that you had followed the advice which I had taken the liberty of giving you when I had the honor of seeing you. It is too late now. I beg you, My Lord Baron, to receive many thanks for your kindness in inquiring about my health. I pray God to grant to you, as well as to your family, a good health as perfect as the one which I am at present enjoying.

Do me the favor of presenting to Madame and Mademoiselle the Baronesses my humble respects. I also beg you in case some accident should happen to me to give to Mademoiselle the Baroness what the King owes me for my services. I owe nothing to anybody, and if I am dead, I shall not need anything any more. I remain with deep respect for Your Excellency, the most humble, most obedient, and most devoted servant,

DE MILFORD (Rubric)

P. S. You say nothing about the house which Mr. Olivier has stolen from me. The Alibamons have lately killed a Choctaw near Tombigbee. It is said that they are on their way to demand satisfaction, and the Creeks say that they do not want to give it.

Monsieur the BARON OF CARONDELET.

## LITTLE TURKEY TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*April 8, 1794*<sup>162</sup>His Excellency Gov<sup>r</sup> GAYOSO DE LEMOS*CHEROKEES April 8th 1794*

FRIEND & BROTHER: Your talk by Cotteahtoye overtook me this side the Chickasaws—part of it I understood, but, before I determined upon any thing, I thought proper to have the advice of my people in council Upon a subject of so much Importance, the result of the council which is Just brook up, is, that the nation should Strictly abide by the talk concluded With the three Nations, which the Cherokees exceed to, with respect to one party determined upon a point with out the consent of the Whole or a majority of them—

Brother If I remember right, you told me that the talks delivered at the Walnut hills to the four Nations was, the talk of his C<sup>a</sup> Majesty, which was a very Good one: because it breathed Sentiments of reconcilliation between all parties, the constant advice we receive from the Governor General, is to be Still if possible. (We have received advice to this purpose as late as December:) as I wish you will: I hope from every advice I could receive or collect Since my arrival that, your apprehensions with respect to an attack upon the Provance is not so dangerous as you apprehended when you Wrote the talk: the wish of the Cherokees is to give you every assistance they can Consistently with their own Safty; our Situation, is, but a precarious one; the Creeks are averse to the Measure you propose, and what can we do of ourselves—

The Bearer hereof Cotteahtoye My Nephew I recommend to your particular Civillity he is atrusty and faithful friend to you, and as he talks the Chactaw & Chickasaw Tongue as well as this; renders him a very useful man—the Journey is great, but your generossity will in ahansome manner reward his toil, as it will give one pleasure to hear from you—you will make him a confident of your Message. It may not be amiss again to hear that the Gov<sup>r</sup>. General expressly requested (in his last communication to our friend M<sup>r</sup> McDonald) to suspend all future hostillity (say from the 5th April) till the result of the Negociation now Carring on at Madrid Should be known the Baron says he has Wrote the Minister of State residing at Philadelphia to engage the Americans to Suspend all hostile prepearations on their part from the Same perriod.

As a Steady friend . . . [torn] Your friend by Signing this with [torn] Mark

LITTLE TURKEY, his X mark.

By JMD

NB the Gov<sup>r</sup>. will please to excuse Inaccuracy, the writer being pestered with Company and in a hurry—

<sup>162</sup> BL, (English).



PS The chickasaws & chactaws from their treatment to me, endeavoured to turn my heart & make it crooket. They Stole & plundered my swine & my pastur Horses & otherwise distressed me as much as if I was an Enemy, but this bad usage made no alteration in my mind or conduct,—I wish well the Chactaws, & Chickasaws and have nothing more at heart than the Unanimity of the Whole. Some of my people accompanys the bearer as far as the Chickasaws to endeavour to recover the property I expect one or two of them will accompany the Bearer all the way to the Natches. if, they should, my friend the Gov<sup>r</sup>. will not forget them in the way of Presents

L T

[Addressed:]

His Excellency Governor Gayoso de Lemos &c &c, Natchez  
By Cotteahtoye)

SIMCOE TO TRUDEAU

*April 11, 1794*<sup>163</sup>

At the Rapids of the Miami River, *11th of April, 1794*

SIR: I have the honor of communicating to you my reply to the dispatch which you have sent by order of his Excellency the governor general of Louisiana. As the exigencies of the situation make it necessary for you to be informed of the contents of my answer, I shall send it to you open, and I desire that you be so kind as to have my seal put to it after you have read it. I agree perfectly that, in case the war should begin, the co-operation of the armies of our respective governments would be very useful.

Allow me to thank you for the attentions which you have been so good as to offer to show to the young officers of my family in the event of their undertaking a trip to the Mississippi, and I assure you of my extreme gratitude and respect for the courtesy which you have extended to the subjects of His Britannic Majesty who are trading in your colony. I beg you to forward the enclosed letter which a man much attached to the service of his King desires that you send to his friend.

I think it wise to send out the proclamation issued by his Excellency Lord Dorchester in the province of Lower Canada. We believe that the French inhabitants of Illinois and Wabash are still treacherous and devoted to the Jacobin principles of the United States.

I have the honor of being, with the deepest respect, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant

J. G. SIMCOE,

Lieutenant governor of Upper Canada.

To MR. TRUDEAU, Lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana.

<sup>163</sup> BL, (French).

## GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO CARONDELET

*April 12, 1794*<sup>164</sup>

No. 454. Answered

Yesterday Turner Brashears, confidant of Franchimastabé, arrived at this place accompanied by two Choctaw Indians on the way to that capital. He brought me a letter from the chief referred to, which I enclose under No. 1 for Your Lordship's information. Its content is confined to expressions of friendship and to requests for some small present. For the present I am giving to the said Brashears a piece of Limbourg which has been here for some time destined for Franchimastabé. If you find it convenient to give him a little salt, coffee, and sugar for the abovementioned chief he will take charge of it.

Brashears delivered to me a copy of the message which the Creek Indians, White Lieutenant of Oakfuskees and Mad Dog, sent to the Choctaw nation directed to Toscapotapo, principal chief of the Small Part, and Abecochee, which is the same as Franchimastabé as he is so called by some of the Creeks. It contains nothing more than what Your Lordship already knows, so you may tell Brashears, the bearer of this letter, whatever pleases you.

I do not doubt that this commission proceeds from the intrigues of Seagrove, as Your Lordship has already been pleased to hint to me.

Brashears brings a petition on the part of Franchimastabé begging Your Lordship to be pleased to transfer the enclosed commission of Payehumá, chief of the small medal, to Paquechenabé, his son, of the same village Octafalaya, as the father is very old and desires that his son shall occupy his place, since he is the confidential warrior of Franchimastabé. I believe there is no objection to granting this favor, and it would be very agreeable to the one who solicits it.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NATCHEZ, *April 12, 1794.*

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

## DE MILFORD TO CARONDELET

*April 14, 1794*<sup>165</sup>

CLOALY, *April 14, 1794.*

SIR: On the tenth of this month Monsieur le Chevalier de Villiers arrived and his arrival pleased me very much. He told

<sup>164</sup> BL.

<sup>165</sup> BL, (French).

me that you had ordered him to see Sigrot. We went to see him on the eleventh.

I had told you that he was to be at the Cossettys on the fifth and from there he was going to Rock Landing on the Oconee River. As he was unable to get what the Indians promised him he postponed leaving until today, the 14th. He is taking with him three white women for whom he had to pay a very high price. He paid 450 piastres for one, 300 for the second, and 150 for the last one.

At least 200 Indians are accompanying him to Rock Landing where they are to receive their presents. I am as yet unable to tell you how many will go with him to New York. I have had lots of trouble trying to quiet down the Indians. However, it seems to me that I have partly succeeded in preventing the Upper Creeks from disturbing your province. This is not true of Coton and Simon Haullet, and the people living around St. Augustine who are in great danger, but I cannot be everywhere.

A great number of Lower Creeks have just left to rob and kill the people in the vicinity of St. Augustine. I have worn out my horses trying to save your province from the same peril and this is the reason I cannot go myself to call them back. Although I have twelve horses for my ordinary purposes, I do not have one at present which is capable of two days' travel. Instead, I am sending two chiefs to see whether they can join them before they commit any mischief and prevail upon them to come back.

I am sending you a letter which I have just received from the interpreter Durozeaux. You will see in it, too, that these Indians are on their way. This letter was sent to me by the old interpreter Joo Cornel. It was open when it came so that he must have shown it to Sigrot. There are nothing but traitors here. There are two others which the aforesaid Joo Cornel has also sent me to ask me for nine months' wages, which he claims are due to him. He promised me lately that he would not go with Sigrot, and, although I consider him a traitor and am positive that he is one, he has been very useful to me in this last affair. Under these circumstances we must pretend not to see anything. There are more days than there are weeks and that which is postponed is not lost. You will always be able to punish him some other time.

At the last assembly I informed all the chiefs that I was expecting every day the officer whom your Excellency was to send to replace Monsieur Olivier, and when he arrived I sent a message from village to village to let them know that he had come and that he was living with me. That is why I shall not call the chiefs to present him to them until I receive an answer to my last two letters, not including this one.

It is very astonishing that Monsieur Lanzose, instead of sending Monsieur le Chevalier in the King's barge, induced him to go to Pensacola where he knew very well that the poor Chevalier would find no help. He must be really filled with good will, as I think he is, to come as he did. I am unable to believe that those were your intentions.

I pray God to give you and your family as perfect health as I am enjoying at present. I have the honor of being of Your Excellency,

The most humble and devoted servant,

DE MILFORD.

Monsieur LE BARON DE CARONDELET.

P. S. April 17th.

Monsieur le Chevalier de Villiers left my house the 13th with one of my servants to go to Tasquigi. He promised to return the next day but he is not back yet. I have just sent a servant to find out what detained him so long and to tell him that I had sent my letters. I would have gone myself to see what the delay was, but I am obliged to stay home in order to be in a better position to see what is going on.

Sigrot is taking with him four young half-breeds to put them in school. Old Joo Cornel had promised me he would not go with Sigrot, but I have just been told he went.

Mad Dog's family has again killed a Chickasaw.

Your servant,

DE MILFORD.

Monsieur LE BARON DE CARONDELET.

McDONALD TO CARONDELET

*April 20, 1794*<sup>166</sup>

CHEROKEES *April 20th 1794*—

*His Excellency* BARON DE CARONDELET

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the favour of your Excellency's letter dated 13th December By the Creek Linguister, Who also delivered the articles of the Treaty concluded with the four Nations at the Walnut hills—The Treaty I had explained by proper Interpreter—It is very well received, but the ratification of it are deferred till more numerous meeting takes place Number of the head men are yet out the way—

This Treaty cannot fail to be attended with the most happy consequences to the four Nations, I mean, if the good intentions of it, are not frustrated, by a combination of emissaries from the other quarter whos endeavours it is to seek every occasion to divide the different tribes in sentiments and as well as the Indians of one of them.—

<sup>166</sup> BL, (English).

I have agreeable to your Excellency strongly urged the necessity of asuspension of armes with The United States till the result of the negociation should be known— This measure appeared to the head men impracticable, for want of due subordination on the part of the young fellows No Indian Country where it is less observed than in the Cherokees— To remedy this it was determined by the head men that few of them should Join the Creeks in avisit to Philadelphia. Mixing with the party some of the most turbulent against all order & regularity—The Agents of the United States have leaboured hard to effect an interview between the Indians & the President; without being able to accomplish that event, till now— The eminent danger I saw the nation expos'd to from an operation of offensive War, prevented me, from making use of any strenuous efforts against their going—tho confident their business Could be settled by their friends better than they could expect to settle them, themselves—however the party has no order to fix on any particular point and if they should be prevailed on by the power of presents it will be considered of no force by the Nation and things will run in the Same confused State as heretofore.—

I am very thankful for the assurance your Excellency was pleased to give me respecting your ententions; serve me &c and Should be happy to know whither your Excellency means to allow upon the principles I have already acted or not, if you are, it will answer my purpose to draw on Mr. Panton for some courency, I cannot well do without—ever sence I undertook to Speak to the Indians on public business— My house are daily Pestered—consequently renders House expence Considerable, With sincerity of sentiments, I remain with the Honour to be your Excellency most ob & Hble Sert

JNO. McDONALD

[Addressed:]

His Excellency BARON DE CARONDELET

Governor General & commander in chief of Louisiana &c &c  
NEW ORLEANS

[Endorsed:]

Let him be given five hundred pesos as compensation for the two years he has been in the service of Spain.

[Rubric of CARONDELET].

On the 2nd of May the order was transmitted to Pensacola.

DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*April 21, 1794*<sup>167</sup>

I left Mobile the 20th of March, and I arrived at the fort of the Confederation on the 16th of April, despite the bad weather and a terrible flood caused by the great rains.

<sup>167</sup> BL, (French).

All the Indians in the river villages received me very well, and were pleased to see the project of this fort carried out. They had been in doubt about it up to now because of the delays, but I gave them the reasons thereof, and they were not surprised. They told me that they hoped that everything that I had promised them on your behalf would be fulfilled.

It seems that the message which Mad Dog, or rather the American commissioner, sent to the Choctaws and Chickasaws has had no effect, since neither of them wanted to go there, and up to this date the nation is quiet. I am leaving the 22nd of this month to assemble the chiefs and to address them for the purpose of quieting their minds and preventing them from stirring themselves the way they do every spring, and inducing them at the same time to fight for us against the vagabonds if necessary. This the Chickasaws do not want to do. They say that the Spanish chiefs have always told them that, if they waged war on white men like themselves, they would not want them to mix up in it for fear of shedding their blood, but that they should remain quiet and watchful. They also said that they were surprised that the governor of Natchez should send them a war message. This is what Ogoulayacabe said in the gathering which Favre called at Bouctoucoulous, and I believe they have been informed of this. I think that the Choctaws will pay no attention to these proposals.

A group from the village of Calanbatia in the Small Part has killed two Osages, and a large number of people from the same part are forming other war parties against the Osages.

After the assembly which I am going to call in the nation, I shall inform you as to the result through a messenger whom I shall send from Natchez. Beyond a doubt they will ask me when their presents will come, and I cannot tell them, since I do not know anything about it. However, I shall tell them that I think it will be next spring, as you promised them, or had Monsieur De Gayoso promise them. God have you in His holy keeping.

AT THE FORT OF THE CONFEDERATION, *21st of April, 1794.*

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

P. S. As I left my manuscript in town for fear of accident, I cannot follow my numbers. I have written you two letters from Mobile. This is No. 3.

To the BARON DE CARONDELET, Governor general.

## CARONDELET TO DELAVILLEBEUVRE

*April 23, 1794*<sup>168</sup>NEW ORLEANS, *April 23, 1794*

I have received your letter of March 28, which you sent me from Tombecbé. I was quite pleased to learn from it that there is nothing new in the nation. I hope that everything will go well despite the great delay suffered by our expedition on account of contrary winds. The major was stopped almost fifteen days both at the Bayou and at the Pass Christian.

I have seen here Turner Brashears, Franchimastabe's confidant, and I gave him a present of 150 piastres. I also gave him a barrel of salt, one arroba of sugar, and a half arroba of coffee for the great chief. He seemed to me to be quite in favor of the new fort at Confederation and promised to do his best to prevent the Choctaws and the Chickasaws from going to greet Seagrove.

I have made strong complaints to the Congress against this commissioner, who has proved to be a zealous partisan of the French by inducing the Creeks not to go to St. Augustine where they had been called by the government to oppose the French and the American bandits who were to attack Florida, against the express prohibition of Congress. I also complained of his having made insulting statements in full assembly against the governor of St. Augustine and the Spanish government, and of his allowing the American flag to be displayed on the council house at Tuquebathe.

The said Seagrove wanted to induce indirectly the Indians of the American party to commit hostilities against our settlements and to steal horses there, but I do not think that he will succeed. However, you will do well to keep on your guard, because he is planning these projects to prevent the construction of the fort.

As the presents are to come up just about the same time as yourself, I did not deem it necessary to give you anything. However, I approve your taking a piece of limbourg cloth and twelve shirts to Fort Tombecbé.

I am informed from Jamaica that Genêt's coup against Louisiana, which failed only because of lack of money, would have plunged us into all the horrors which have destroyed the Cape and the other French colonies, and that the said Genêt, who has disappeared with 24,000 piastres, may very well have taken the route to Ohio to join Clark, so that we should keep a very strict watch on the latter's movements. Consequently, I urge you to examine all the strangers who will come into the nation and to question all the Indians coming from

<sup>168</sup> BL. A Pinart transcript.

Cumberland and the Ohio as to what they may have seen, for they are not to be believed as to their hearsay reports.

After retrenching yourself, your first duty will be to secure food for your whole garrison when the rising waters will allow you to receive it again.

I wish you health and ask you to regard me, Sir, your most humble and obedient Servant,

LE BARON DE CARDONDELET

P. S. The English have captured Martinique and the Spanish have taken Cape Français—

Monsieur DELAVILLEBEUVRE

#### PARTNERSHIP OF MEUNIER AND ROLAND IN THE PONCA TRADE

*April 26, 1794*<sup>169</sup>

Before us, Don Zenon Trudeau, captain of the fixed regiment of Louisiana, lieutenant governor and commander-in-chief of the western district of Illinois, appeared the Sieurs Jean Meunier and Jacques Roland, both merchant traders residing at St. Louis, since there is no notary here. They have voluntarily made the contract and articles of association which follow, indicating that they are partners and will remain partners for the space of four years, beginning today, for the purpose of trading on the Missouri among the Poncas. Finally the aforesaid partners, upon their return to this city in the year 1798 and during the said space of four years, shall share all profits and bear all damages and losses which it may please God to send to them in their trading.

Article I. The aforesaid Jean Meunier undertakes to leave as promptly as possible to reach the said village of the Poncas as soon as the aforesaid partners shall have the assortment of merchandise suitable for trading at that post.

\* Article II. The aforesaid Jacques Roland shall remain to make the purchases necessary for their spending the winter and to make arrangements to take care of the goods which they will need during the time of their association. He undertakes to do his best to furnish and get whatever is necessary, to make out the bills to the partnership, pay the necessary expenses, to send them wherever necessary, give the bills of the purchases which he will make, at the risks, perils, and costs of the aforesaid partnership, and then go up to rejoin the said Jean Meunier at the aforesaid post with the goods which he is bringing for that purpose. The aforesaid Jean Meunier undertakes to trade and exchange these goods with the help of the said Roland. The partners, however, are not responsible for debts con-

<sup>169</sup> BL, (French).



tracted by either one of them before the formation of this association. If there should be any, they shall be paid and liquidated by the one of the two who made them on his own account without attaching the other one or his goods in any way. These debts will be totally foreign to the aforesaid partnership.

The aforesaid partners moreover agree that at the return of one of them, the debts and expenditures made by the said partnership shall be paid and liquidated by the partnership.

The aforementioned Jacques Roland agrees to pay to the aforesaid Jean Meunier, his associate, the sum of a thousand livres in deer skins, for each year of the aforesaid partnership, equivalent to the sum of 2000 livres in silver. This shall be paid from everything which he may have or claim in the said partnership and from all his property, present and future, with no reference to the said partnership. If it should happen that during this period of four years one of the partners fell ill, he would be treated, cared for, and given medicine at the common costs of the said partnership. The contracting parties agree that a clerk shall be hired to keep the books of the said partnership, and that they shall settle their accounts each year. This clerk shall be paid by the said society, and in case of dispute between them they promise to abide by the decision of two arbiters named by each one of them. Thus the aforesaid contracting parties have agreed. Otherwise they would not have consented to these present articles with their promissory, obligatory, and renunciatory provisions.

Done and passed at St. Louis in the government hall the 26th of April, 1794, in the presence of the Sieurs Clamorgan and Mathurin Bouvet, whom we called in as witnesses and who signed the original with us the lieutenant governor, with the exception of the said Jean Meunier and Jacques Roland, who stated that they were unable to sign and made their customary marks as follows:

Signed on the original: J. CLAMORGAN

MATHURIN BOUVET

JEAN MEUNIER, His mark X

JACQUES ROLAND, His mark X

And lower

ZENON TRUDEAU

We, Don Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant governor and commander-in-chief of the western part of the Illinois, certify and attest that the present copy is in conformity with the original deposited in the archives of our government. In faith whereof we have given these presents at St. Louis the same day and year as above.

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

## MUÑOZ TO CARONDELET

*April 30, 1794*<sup>170</sup>

On the date of the 4th of last February I wrote to Your Lordship in consequence of the order of the commandant general of these Interior Provinces of New Spain, Brigadier Don Pedro de Nava, for the purpose of facilitating the taking out of range horses, such as are produced in this country, to supply the inhabitants of that province in your charge, in case they present to me a passport from Your Lordship. For the present I shall only deal with those matters which have come to my hands.

The commandant of the post of Pilar de Nacogdoches, Don Cristóbal de Córdoba, sent me a copy of the passport given at Opelousas by a person called De Beorde to the Indians of that post, so that they may solicit the Apaches to go and establish themselves in their neighborhood, where they will regard them as brothers and where they will not be molested. The said Córdoba adds that they informed him that with the said passport they have brought in thirty-five muskets. This solicitation and treatment merits great surprise, since the commandant of the posts of Louisiana cannot be ignorant that the Apache nation has been constantly plundering the people of this government and its collaterals. Against these acts His Excellency the Viceroy for many years has taken the most active measures, nor have these been neglected by the commandants general since the year '77, which was their beginning for Your Lordship's predecessors in that government.

Both were directed that they were not to permit the entrance of the Apaches and the taking from them of horses and mules in exchange for guns, powder, and other arms used by whites, as has been verified since I took the reins of this government of Texas. When I was hoping that this state of affairs would be regulated by those measures and the information I have given to the commandant of Nacogdoches, and that of Natchitoches, I find by the contents of the passport issued by De Beorde that permission is solicited through the Opelousas Indians for the Apaches to come to these territories. This act is being encouraged by the fact that it provided them with thirty-five muskets, which are what they value most for continuing their depredations.

In order to cut off these depredations, and to compel these Indians, who are very perfidious, to remain in their territory, it is necessary for the better service of the King that Your Lordship shall issue directions to the commandant of Opelousas and the other posts on the frontier of that province, with the object of preventing the ad-

mission in any manner of the Apaches, or any dealings with them. On the contrary aid should be given to the nations who are our friends, so that they will not introduce themselves among the parties to hold dealings of that nature.

In order that Your Lordship may be informed of the passport issued by De Beorde, I am on this date ordering the commandant of the post of Nacogdoches, Don Cristóbal de Córdoba, to accompany this as a witness and inform Your Lordship upon this point and other matters that you may judge necessary to be able to dictate the measure that may be best to remedy the evils which may result in the future. It is not easy to do it now because of those that happened in the past. By doing this you will perform a valuable service to His Majesty and great benefit to the state.

At the same time, by the parties whom I am receiving, I am informed that traders, dependent on the district of the province of Louisiana, which is in Your Lordship's charge, are entering the villages of the Indian nations which belong to the territories of this province of mine, and among them, it is very probable that some of the rebels of France may come. I am told that the traders stay in the villages of these Indians during the trading, living in libertinism with the Indian women, from which result many offenses against God, besides introducing among the Indians some disorders, which, if we are not careful, will not be easy to remedy.

Considering that Your Lordship may have no information about these conditions, I have thought it best to explain them to you before I send a despatch about them to the commandant general, so that, if you consider them to be worth while, you may be pleased to take such measures as may be most advantageous to the service of both Majesties, and to remedy the evils that may result.

In all that has been stated I am not moved by any other motive than to carry out the obligations of my office, for which reason I hope that Your Lordship will take in good part the annoyance that may be caused you by this narration, which need not interfere with Your Lordship's making use, as you wish, of my small ability.

God Keep Your Lordship many years.

SAN ANTONIO DE BEXAR, *April 30, 1794.*

MANUEL MUÑOZ (Rubric.)

Señor Governor Colonel DE CARONDELET.

## CARONDELET TO LAS CASAS

*April 30, 1794*<sup>171</sup>

No. 7.

*Confidential.*

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: From the enclosed extract of the letter which I have received from the commandant of the fort of New Madrid under date of the 2nd instant, Your Excellency will be informed of an attack that a party of the Shawnee nation, settled in the vicinity of that post, has made against the blockhouse that the French have built on the Ohio near the Shawnee and Cumberland rivers, which obliged its commandant to retire with the troops to Red Banks. This has re-established the communication which had been intercepted between Kentucky and Louisiana, and is much more to our advantage because a scarcity of flour in the province was beginning to be feared.

That part of the Shawnee tribe is the one captained by Don Louis Lorimier, whom I mentioned in my Dispatch No. 103. He had advanced with his savages to the banks of the Mississippi to assure and cover the transportation of six pieces of six which I have ordered brought down from the post of St. Louis, Ilinoia, to the fort of New Madrid, which is at present equipped with two pieces of eight, six of six, and four of four. There are left in the little fort of St. Louis (much less exposed to attack) pieces of four sufficient for the short defense of which it is capable.

It seems to me that it would be advisable to reward the good manner in which Don Luis Lorimier has comported himself with his savages, numbering not less than 600. The rank of captain of army and the salary of a lieutenant will assure his loyalty to Spain. It is much more advisable since the actions of the rabble in Kentucky, with the purpose of winning the navigation of the Mississippi, are every day becoming more alarming, according to the quite positive advices that I have received from W., whose letter in cipher I shall send Your Excellency by the first opportunity. In case of an attack, Lorimier with his savages will be of the greatest utility for the defense of the passage of the Mississippi.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 30, 1794.*

Most Excellent Sir,

EL BARON DE CARONDELET

Most Excellent Señor DON LUIS DE LAS CASAS.

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Extract of letter from Captain Don Tomás Portell, Commandant of New Madrid.

<sup>171</sup> AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-27.

Day before yesterday a flatboat arrived that came down from the Falls of the Ohio, and on it I have arrested a passenger, one of the Cumberland River Guard, who was under the orders of Montgomery. I am keeping him in the calaboose until an opportunity presents itself to send him to that capital, as he has aroused my suspicions by the replies he has given to my questions. Your Lordship will be able to judge them better than I and will dispose of him according to his deserts.

I have been informed that two of the French officers who were under Clark's orders at the Falls of the Ohio are to pass by here, with the design of seeing this and other posts. In this regard I have already taken the precautions that seemed to me advisable, so that, if they do come down, I can arrest them and send them to Your Lordship with all the papers I find on them.

By the same flatboat that reached here day before yesterday there arrived the daughter of a German residing here, who with her husband was detained by Montgomery at the mouth of the Cumberland River. He tells me that on March 26 or 27, last, at about ten o'clock in the morning some Indians attacked the said guard at the mouth of the Cumberland River, killing two women and one man of a family that had arrived there, and wounding five soldiers of the said guard. Among them was one of those whose names I sent to Your Lordship.

In view of this attack Montgomery decided to leave the post and retire to Red Banks with all his troops, leaving the *pedrero* buried and throwing into the water the few provisions he had there.

May God guard Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, April 2, 1794.

TOMÁS PORTELL

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

#### ALLOTMENT OF THE MISSOURI TRADING POSTS

May 1-3, 1794<sup>172</sup>

*To Mr. Don Zenon Trudeau, captain of the fixed regiment of Louisiana, lieutenant governor and commandant-in-chief of the western district of Illinois.*

The trade syndic has the honor of stating to you that he would like to call a meeting of all the merchants in your government to proceed with the allotment of the Missouri posts, in conformity with the resolutions adopted before you on the 15th of October of last year at the meeting of the merchants. That is why, Sir, he

<sup>172</sup> BL, (French).

begs you to order that a meeting be held on Saturday, the 3rd of this month, to settle the part and portion of each member.

St. Louis, *May 1, 1794.*

Signed, JACQUES CLAMORGAN

St. Louis, *May 2, 1794*

Meeting approved for tomorrow at eleven o'clock.

Signed, TRUDEAU

In the year one thousand seven hundred ninety four on the 3rd day of the month of May, in virtue of the permission granted by Mr. Don Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant governor, to call a meeting of the merchants for the purpose of allotting the trading posts of the Missouri, the syndic called them together and proceeded with the allotment of the sums which may be used in purchasing merchandise for each one of the posts. By unanimous agreement, the estimates are as follows:

The post of the Grands Eaux, estimated at.....	72 thousand livres
That of the Petits Eaux, estimated at.....	24 thousand livres
That of the Kans, estimated at.....	24 thousand livres
That of the Republique, estimated at.....	6 thousand livres
That of the Othos, estimated at.....	14 thousand livres
That of the Panis Bon Chef, estimated at....	5 thousand livres
That of the Panis named Tapage, estimated at..	5 thousand livres
That of the Loups, estimated at.....	5 thousand livres
That of the Maha, estimated at.....	20 thousand livres

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175 thousand livres

The total sum for the exploitation of all the Missouri amounts to one hundred seventy five thousand livres in silver, to be divided among twenty five merchants of the town of St. Louis, three of Ste. Geneviève, and includes one part belonging to our lieutenant governor. The portion of each will be merchandise to the value of about six thousand livres.

For this purpose we have allotted:

At the Grands Eaux.....	12 trade portions.
At the Petits Eaux.....	4 trade portions.
At the Kans.....	4 trade portions.
At the Republique.....	1 trade portion.
At the Othos.....	2 trade portions.
At the Panis Bon Chef.....	1 trade portion.
At the Panis Tapage.....	1 trade portion.
At the Maha.....	3 trade portions.

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29 trade portions.

Whereupon, in the presence of the lieutenant governor, we, the members of the commerce gathered here, have drawn lots for the trading

portions, after Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau chose his at the Kans nation. The rest are as follows:

	Messrs. Coliere		
	Ceret		
	Robidou		
	Andreville		
	Motard		
Great Osages .....	Dubreuil	12 portions	
	Chouteau, the younger		
	Papin		
	Chovin		
	Sanguinet		
	Clamorgan		
	Boleduc of Ste. Geneviève		
	Roy		
Little Osages.....	Marlé	4 portions	
	Lafleur		
	Prat of Ste. Geneviève		
	Benito Basquez		
The Kans .....	Beral Sarpy	4 portions	
	Durocher		
	M. Zenon Trudeau		
The Republique	Chouteau, the elder	1 portion	
The Othos.....	Reilhe		
	Lavalé	2 portions	
The Panis Bon Chef	Yostle	1 portion	
The Panis Tapage	Leconte	1 portion	
The Loups	Labadie	1 portion	
	Vincen		
The Mahas .....	St. Sire	3 portions	
	Hubardau of Ste. Geneviève		
			29 portions

This done and passed at government hall in the town of St. Louis in presence of Monsieur Don Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant governor, May 3, 1794.

Signed, ZENON TRUDEAU  
Signed, CLAMORGAN

Conforms to the original placed in the archives of the government of the city of St. Louis this same day and year as above.

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

Absent from the town of St. Louis, having claims on Missouri posts:

MESSRS. GINGEMBRE  
LAJOYE,  *fils*  
GRATIOT  
SOCIER

## DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*May 7, 1794*<sup>173</sup>

No. 4.

I went to the Choctaws where I found the chiefs still in the same frame of mind. They seemed to be flattered that the fort should be built, saying to me that they had thought up to now that I had bluffed them, but that now they were pleased to see that it was not so and that they hoped that everything I had promised them on your behalf would go through, especially the food. They are in a most wretched condition this year. They have not one grain of corn to go to Mobile. At the time of the presents they reminded me of the rice which you had sent for them to Fort St. Etienne, but the commandant told me when I passed there that he had given it to his troops because it was rotting. I merely answered them that they were to blame for not having come to get it when I told them about it. They told me that they believed that I was bringing them your orders to get their present at Mobile, since this year it was not given to them at Tombecbé. They said that when they were at Nogales they had been promised it would be given them when the strawberries ripened, and that the promise made to them had not been kept. I replied to all this that the war was the cause, but that I was expecting your orders any day for them to start on their way, and that in the meantime they should sow their corn.

The Chickasaws have gone to get their presents at the Ecors à Margot, and according to what I was told by a Chickasaw half-breed who arrived here yesterday, even the old women went. There have remained only Payemingo and some warriors of his village who are soon to leave for the hunt in the direction of Kentucky. According to what the half-breed said, everything is quiet in those parts.

Long before my arrival, Payemingo sent a message to the Choctaws to induce them to fight the Kickapoos for the benefit of the Americans. He told them that they would be given presents and munitions in Kentucky. Some of the savages from the Large and Small Part actually left, because they are their common enemies, but most of them quit. I reproached them with that, especially the chiefs; telling them that they should support the Spaniards, who were always full of kindness towards them, and not the nations which do nothing for them. It does not seem to me that they are very much disposed to make war, but if it were absolutely necessary, they would doubtless be found willing. However, Ogoulayacabe's harangue to the Choctaws at the assembly called by Favre at Boukloucoulou, in connection with the letter which the commissioner sent to that nation in the care of

<sup>173</sup> BL., (French).



Mad Dog, has had a very bad effect, as I believe he told you before my arrival. What is sure is that the Chickasaws do not want to go to war. When I see him, which will be doubtless at his return soon, I expect to speak to him about it and to tell him that, if he does not want to go to war, he should not turn the others away from it.

As the Choctaws had stolen some horses from the Talapoosas when they came back from Nogales, the latter came to Tombecbé to steal three belonging to Favre. As I presumed this might very well have been done at the instigation of the American commissioner, I sent a special message to the Chevalier de Villiers to have him give them up just as I had theirs given back to them. I asked him to speak to all the chiefs of that nation in order to make them prevent their warriors from coming to the Choctaws and to avoid robberies, which might have ultimately dire consequences and cause bad feeling between them. I also asked him to inform me as to the steps which the American commissioner was taking in connection with the Choctaws so that we should be able to ward off their blows by being informed of them in time. I also requested him to maintain a correspondence with me. This doubtless will be very useful to the King's service.

Although I am sure that you know that two American armies have left to march against the Northern Nations, I thought it necessary to tell you about it. A Choctaw who went hunting in these parts, said he had seen them but they told him that they were not marching against the Spaniards with whom they were friends; and that it was true they had been on the verge of declaring war against them but now they were at peace.

The letter which I wrote to Sieur Favre, in accordance with your orders, dated December 6, '93, and which I had given to Sieur Parant, so that he might have a savage take it to the nation, arrived only day before yesterday. The delay occurred because the savage who was carrying it kept it all this time while he went hunting so that Favre, not having received it, has not made the census which you ordered me to have him take. At the present time it is too late. Nor had he built any barracks to house the troops and shelter their effects. However, after he received the letter which I wrote to him when I arrived at Mobile, he built a shed, where the five men who came up with me are living and where the others may stay when they come.

The seventeen Negroes and one white man, whom Monsieur Djaise sent up with me, have just finished cutting the lumber for the fort. They do not know what to do now, and Sieur Djaise is not here yet. I would have had the soldiers clear a place for the fort if I did not believe that Mr. Djaise should do it for himself, but as I have no orders about this I am afraid of causing the King unnecessary expenditures if the contractor does not do it.

A savage reported to me that several Negroes and one white man sent by Mr. Djoise in a large pirogue which was going up the river, met some drunken savages, became afraid of them because they asked them for drinks, and went back. They probably told some story at Mobile as before. You may be sure that, if I had not been with those who came up, they would have quit ten times if they had come at all, doubtless because of the stories they heard before leaving Mobile. They were quite satisfied to see the manner in which we were received in all the villages.

I think that there will be many savages at the giving of presents, despite what we can do. The occurrences at Nogales should prove to you how difficult it is to stop them, especially when it is a question of presents. Besides, many of them are dying of hunger and will go just to eat and drink.

The Choctaws reported to me that Tourneboule's boat came into the Yazoo River loaded with merchandise, for the purpose of trading with them. What is certain is that they are leaving all the villages to go there loaded with skins, according to what I am told by the interpreter and the other traders. The latter complain strenuously because the Choctaws do not want to pay for the goods which they have given them on credit when they went to hunt. At any rate, that is why the savages are impertinent with the traders today and bold to the highest degree.

I have just made the inventory and sold at auction the property of a trader from this nation called Degrange, who died a few days ago. I got 318 piasters for his belongings, payable in six months, but as this man owed another man who had gone security for him at Panton's store for 300 piasters, which must be paid, and as others have also presented just bills against him for goods, labor, and tolls, I think that I shall have to follow your best advice and pay them on a pro rata basis. I shall await your orders on this matter.

God have you in His holy keeping.

BOUKFOUCA, 7th of May, 1794.

JN. DELAVELLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

Monsieur le BARON DE CARONDELET, GOVERNOR General

#### CHOCTAW VILLAGES

1794<sup>174</sup>

Names of the Indian villages of the Choctaw nation given in the three parts:

<sup>174</sup> BL, (French). A Pinart transcript marked AG, Cuba, Fl. Occ. 68-1283.

*Large Part*

Yazaux  
 Mongoulachos  
 Abecas  
 Ousactalaya  
 Castachas  
 Conchito  
 Cafetelaya  
 Chinoucaa  
 Okecopolé  
 Alonlouachas  
 Osapachito  
 Fianke  
 Okaatatalaya  
 Choucapa  
 Onay  
 Besaches  
 Conchacosapa  
 Okaoupoulou  
 Octaquefulaya  
 Fehichinto  
 Okacapasa  
 Okathiamboulé  
 Ethioucthiamboulé

*Small Part*

Abecas  
 Bouctoucoulou  
 Chichatalaya  
 Ebitabougoula chito  
 Ebitabougoula ouchy  
 Canlabatia  
 Olitachas  
 Loucfeata  
 Ousactalaya  
 Concha  
 Abesas  
 Boucfalaya  
 Oskéathiocman  
 Ancanoula  
 Sapaena  
 Ythéocthiaco  
 Tombekbé

*District of the Six Villages*

Oskekagama  
 Nachoubavouanya  
 Chicachaé  
 Youanis  
 Itechanan  
 Bouctoulougy  
 Seniachas  
 Chichecribathia

Falas  
 Octaguetianaché  
 Octaguechito  
 Okatalaya  
 Bisconé  
 Sonlavouis  
 Beachas  
 Yagane Athiocman

There are several small villages which have been formed in the three districts after I left the nation of which I do not know the names.

MOBILE, 1794.

## DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*May 8, 1794*<sup>175</sup>

(Copy)

I arrived at the Choctaw nation several days ago after a 24-day trip on the Tombigbee River where I met very strong currents. After a few days rest I left for the nation, which I have just told you about reaching. I beg you to send me your orders. I spoke to the chiefs to ease their minds about the presents, because they said that the time set at Nogales for them to receive the presents had passed. I gave them the reason for this. They were satisfied, and the nation was quiet.

Several Choctaw parties went to war against the Kickapoos at the instigation of Payemingo of the Chickasaws, who promised them that he would have presents given to them at Kentucky, as well as munitions, in order to go to war on the side of the Americans. As the Kickapoos are their common enemies, several parties started on their way, but more than three-fourths of them have quit. I told them that they should fight for the Spaniards, and not for the Americans who would do them no good.

I was not at all satisfied with what Ogoulayacabe said at an assembly called in the Choctaw nation by Favre during my absence in connection with a letter which you had sent him to induce him and his warriors to go to the Ecors à Margot against the French. He said that he was surprised that you should ask them to take up arms against white people, because the Spanish chiefs had always said that they did not want to shed the blood of the red men, nor allow them to mix in the wars of the white men, where they should merely be spectators. Franchimastabe, who is a very peaceable man, spoke after him and approved this policy very much. So you can see there is quite a bad example given by two chiefs who have been loaded with favors by the Spaniards. This sort of thing happens every day with them.

The American commissioner who resides in the Talapoosa nation sent a message to the Talapoosa chief, Mad Dog, to have him write to the Choctaw chiefs to go to the Creeks to get presents, but fortunately they did not want to go there because they were expecting their presents, and that is all there is to that.

This year the presents are going to be given at Mobile, and the Sieur Lanzos, commandant of that place, has just sent to the Choctaws the commissioner named Juzan, to arrange for their departure.

Some time ago a trader called Frainque or Degrange died. I made an inventory of his possessions and sold them at auction and got

<sup>175</sup> BL, (French).

318 piasters, but as he owed to another trader 250 piasters who went security for him at Panton's store at Mobile, as is proved by a letter which Forbes wrote me about it, and as other bills have been presented to me, I think that unless you decide otherwise they will have to divide on a pro rata basis. I wrote about this to the Baron, but I beg you to send me your orders about it. I sold on six months' credit, there being no cash here.

The Talapoosas are up to their usual tricks now that spring is here, and have just stolen at Tombecbé three horses belonging to the interpreter, Simon Favre. I sent a courier bearing a message to the commissioner who relieved Don Pedro Olivier. He is called the Chevalier de Villiers, captain of militia. I asked him to have the horses given back and to speak to the chiefs of that nation to prevent them from coming near the Choctaws, who are already quite dissatisfied, because it might have dangerous consequences. I have also written to Red Shoe. At present the savages do not want to go alone to carry letters for fear of accidents. They go by twos. I beg you to pay them with brandy; it will cost the King less.

A Chickasaw half-breed told me that even the old women went to get the presents, and I fear very much that the Choctaws will follow their example, although the Baron desires that only a few of them go. You have seen what happened at Nogales, despite what I could do. Well, at the present time they are dying of hunger.

God have you in His holy keeping.

BOUKFOUCA, *8th of May, 1794.*

JUAN DELAVILLEREUVRE (Rubric)

To Monsieur DON MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

CARONDELET TO DE BLANC

*May 16, 1794*<sup>176</sup>

I approve of the small present which you found necessary to give to the chief of the Kits de Singes who with fifty-three warriors from this nation presented himself to you. I have instructed Monsieur Tauzin to issue an order for the seventy-seven pesos and six reales which it cost, including the provisions for their subsistence during the five days they were at that post.

May God spare you many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *May 16, 1794.*

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric).

Señor DON LUIS DE BLANC.

ROBERTSON TO PORTELL

*May 17, 1794*<sup>177</sup>NASHVILLE 17<sup>th</sup> May 1794

DEAR SIR: I rec<sup>d</sup> yours of the 20<sup>th</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup>. by M<sup>r</sup>. Lafoucade, in answer to which I have the pleasure to inform you, that myself & family are well and in good Spirits.— The American Government has interposed its authority to Suppress the Expedition which lately threatened to disturb the tranquility of your Country, with so good Effect that, in all Probability you have nothing farther to Apprehend from that Quarter.— I do not indeed know of even Ten considerate persons having Engaged in that Affair; the whole party from this District being composed of Men of broken Fortunes, renegadoes from the Spannish Settlements, Indian Nations, & other Places:— Knowing they counted on geting the Chichasaws to join them, & having some influence with that Nation I advised them very Strongly against Meddling in the Quarrel; and I flatter myself my Endeavors were not without Effect

As the impediment seems in a great measure removed I flatter myself our Correspondence will revive & Continue & be assured Sir I shall be happy to do any thing in my Power that may promote harmony & good understanding between us.— Though I should with Pleasure Accept your polite invitation of a Visit, yet business obliges me to forego that satisfaction.— Should you or any other Gentleman from your Quarter find it convenient to pay us a Visit, you may be assured I shall do everything in my Power to make your Stay agreeable.—

I am with Dear Sir with Esteem Your Most Obt. Hum Serv<sup>t</sup>—

JAMES ROBERTSON (Rubric)

CAPT THOMAS PORTELL

[Addressed:]

CAPT: THOMAS PORTELL Command<sup>t</sup>.M<sup>r</sup>. LAFOUCADE ) New Madrid.

LAS CASAS TO CAMPO DE ALANGE

*May 19, 1794*<sup>178</sup>

No. 401.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Of the occurrences and advices relative to the pending project of the invasion of Louisiana that is being promoted on the banks of the Ohio by the former minister of France, Genêt, and his functionaries, French and otherwise, I have given

<sup>177</sup> BL, (English).<sup>178</sup> AGI, Aud. SD, 86-6-27.

Your Excellency an account in my dispatch of the 6th of last month, No. 389. I shall now recapitulate in this one the gist of the various dispatches subsequently received from the governor of Louisiana, which do not dispel the fear of the impending attack, but rather prove that it is assuming greater momentum.

Don Juan Písgnoux, who in the month of October last denounced to our *chargés d'affaires* the abovementioned project of the minister of France, of which I gave Your Excellency an account in my confidential dispatch of October 26, No. 23, came down alone by boat along the Ohio to the Mississippi. The commandant of New Madrid sent him on *incomunicado* in compliance with the instructions of the governor of the province because of suspicions of his being a double spy. An examination of his conduct gave rise to this belief.

When he passed through Natchez the governor of that place took two declarations from him, one secret and the other public, copies of which are enclosed. After a short stay in New Orleans, Governor Baron de Carondelet sent him prisoner to this place. Finding myself with the same doubts, I placed him *incomunicado* in one of the castles here in order to prevent his tricks, in case he is an agent of the enemy, or, if he is our true confidant, to conceal this by apparently treating him as a criminal, as he himself proposed in New York.

Shortly after his arrival here he advised me that he wished to communicate to me some information relative to the matter in question, for which purpose I commissioned Captain of Dragoons Don Juan Manuel O'Farrill, who speaks French perfectly. To him he made a signed statement of which I enclose a copy.

In confidential dispatch of April 7, last, the governor of Louisiana informs me that he has again taken up through one of the leading citizens of the city of Louisville who came down to Louisiana last year, the negotiations for the separation of the state of Kentucky from the federation of the States of America. This was pursued at the order of His Majesty in the year 1787 and following, but was dropped as it was not successful.

The results of these new negotiations are shown in Letter No. 1 of Document No. 4 from M. de la Casagne, the man in question. In it he reports his first step toward the projected separation. He relates the state in which the preparations for the enterprise of the invasion of Louisiana were on that date. He sends documents (Nos. 2-3-4 of Document No. 4) showing the ferment the inhabitants of the western part of the United States were in to obtain by any means whatsoever their so much desired navigation of the Mississippi River. He encloses a copy (No. 5 of Document No. 4) of the proclamation published on December 7, by the American governor of the territory

north of the Ohio, prohibiting all enlistment and hostilities against the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi. However, it will be seen that in defiance of this, a proclamation was published on January 25 by the leader of the projected expedition, George Clark, who has the title of field marshal and commander in chief of the French revolutionary legions on the Mississippi, urging enlistment for the expedition against the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi and promising very advantageous conditions to those who enlisted.

Finally under date of April 9, he communicates the letter from Don Luis Milford, commissioned temporarily by the governor of Louisiana in the Talapoosa Nation. This is a diary of what took place in the congress held by the delegates from the various Indian nations at Tuquebacht in the middle of March. From this it will be seen that the object of what was proposed by the commissioner of the United States, James Seagrove, who attended the meetings and expressed himself with impropriety against the Spaniards, was to wean the Indians away from us and dissuade them from taking up arms at present to aid us. He assured them that the hostilities premeditated by the French were inventions of the Spaniards. The glibness of Seagrove's imputations and the bribe of his gifts to the principal Indians produced a deep impression on the minds of those savages, up till then our partisans, but on that occasion already very wavering.

However, a party of Shawnees, led by Don Luis Lorimier, subsequently attacked a blockhouse that the French had established near the Shawnee and Cumberland rivers, compelling its defenders to abandon it, according to the commandant of New Madrid.

Summing up all the different ideas and purposes presented by the reading of these documents, it seems to me that the veil is drawn aside, revealing behind it, as has been believed, the true authors of the projected invasion, that is, the Americans. They are probably in accord with the Minister of France, making use of the French name, French insignia and a gang of French vagabonds, and are following in the shadow of these appearances in pursuit of their favorite objective, their reaching the sea on the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi, on whose navigation they have incessantly fixed their eyes for the reason that upon it depends the prosperity of their western settlements, already very numerous on the Ohio and the other rivers flowing into it, an object of the greatest importance to them, from which they cannot desist. I do not think it advisable to concede it to them, but it will in time be inevitable to consent as it will be impossible to deny them, because in the end a numerous people must break the dikes that oppose their interests, interests of the first magnitude, without possession of which their existence would be without incentive. The documents that M. la Casagne encloses with his letter (No. 1 of Document No. 4) and others I have seen in



American gazettes of the Democratic Society in Kentucky, show clearly the fervor agitating the western settlements on the question of the navigation of the Mississippi, to which they believe or pretend to believe they are given a right by nature itself, urging all the people to take advantage of the present opportunity of the war in which they see Spain involved, to seize possession of their longed-for navigation.

I am confident that the danger will still be dissipated without the breaking of the tempest that now threatens Louisiana, but not permanently. The people of the western settlements must in time sweep away all the obstacles which oppose their reaching the sea, and absorb Louisiana.

In order to guard against or postpone that time it would be very advantageous to us if the said new western settlements were not incorporated in the American Federation, and for this reason it would be well for the interests of the crown if the projected separation of the State of Kentucky should come to pass. The Governor of Louisiana has recently entered upon these negotiations but he did not flatter himself that they would succeed, because he foresaw some obstacles to the people there desiring and undertaking its separation, and even though undertaken, their being able to carry it out against the power of the United States which would resist this with all its might.

As our plans relative to the province of Louisiana should be based on foreseeing the course that the interests and steps of the western Americans of the State of Kentucky must take, I hope that Your Excellency, bringing what is most advisable to the attention of His Majesty, will please communicate to me the instructions that are to his royal pleasure.

May God guard you many years.

HAVANA, *May 19, 1794.*

Most Excellent Sir,

LUIS DE LAS CASAS (Rubric)

Most Excellent Señor CONDE DEL CAMPO DE ALANGE.

GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO LITTLE TURKEY

[*May, 1794*] <sup>179</sup>

MY DEAR FRIEND & BROTHER Little Turkey: Your Letter of the 8th, April came to hand yesterday, and I am very glad to find that you pay somuch attention to the advice of our Governor General the Baron of Carondelet. I recommend it to you always to do so, for he will never tell you anything but what is the best for the welfare of your Nation.

As the bearer is returning home by New Orleans and that he will see the Governor General, he will receive from him, further instructions, and even an answer to your Letter to me for you must know

<sup>179</sup> BL, (English).

that we all speak by the same Tongue; and as he is the first Chief he will be able to tell you everything with more exactness according to the present circumstances, therefore I will not interrupt his Speech with any notions of mine.—

I shall recommend your People to the Governor General, who I hope will reward them handsomely.

I repeat my most friendly Affection to you and to M<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>c</sup>Donald for whom I have the greatest regard, and I remain, Your truest Friend & Brother.

GAYOSO (Rubric)

It is a copy.

GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO UGULAYACABE

*May 22, 1794*<sup>180</sup>

Copy.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER UGULAYACABE: I know that you have been at the Bluffs to receive your presents and I believe that you are pleased with them.

I have a matter of a great importance to consult with you and for that purpose I write it all to M<sup>r</sup>. Fooy, who will acquaint you with every circumstance, and I have nothing more to add now than just to say that you know me, and that I know you, and when two such Men undertakes any thing, they must overcome every difficulty, the means of that we will find when we know what is necessary.

Your presence in your Nation is of the greatest importance, or else I should be very glad to see you, but to remedy that speak freely with M<sup>r</sup>. Fooy, and even if you please send to me any of your particular Friends with whom I may likewise consult the bussiness.

Some days ago a Friend of your's came down the River to go to New orleans to sell some Oil, but as he did not bring me a letter from you I suppose he had no other bussiness than his own, therefore I did not speak with him about this affair.

There is now six Osages in New orleans that went there to entreat for peace. When I know the results I shall acquaint you with them.

I am very much obliged to you for the news you sent to me last, and I request you will continue them whenever there is any thing that you think important and curious.

I have no more to say for the present than to repeat the greatest assurances of my friendship, with which I remain your sincerest Friend—

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS

NATCHEZ the 22<sup>d</sup> May, 1794

It is a copy

GAYOSO (Rubric)

<sup>180</sup> *BL*, (English).

## GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO FOOT

*May 22, 1794*<sup>181</sup>

Copy.

MY DEAR FRIEND: By Mr. Turnbull's Boat I received your Letter of the 12.<sup>th</sup> inst.<sup>t</sup>. I am glad to heard that the presents were agreeable and well received by the Nation. It is not extraordinary that there should be some Indians of discontented mind as their is among the white people, but theise been few it does not signify much, as the greatest part of the Nation do to Ugulayacabe the justice of not thinking him selfish, for he is rather generous than otherwise.

As to Payemingo I never expected he should be there, but when he turns back, you will find that our talks are producted of something else more than words, and perhaps will decide himself tho' not to quit the Americans at least to be reconciled to us: What certainly will be the case is that he will no longer be able to impose on the minds of his Nation with regard to us, and I hope time is not far that all the Nation will be convinced that it is with us that their interest is to be connected more intimately than with any other Nation, and much more so when they will be further convinced that we are not a sanguinary people and that our principle object is to promote the peace of mankind and secures his rights.

All your endeavours must be to demonstrate this truth to every person to whom you speak so as to fix this maxim in the heads of all that Nation, and by that means disposses them to embrace our advice, and act for their own safety, and ours, as we shall direct them. The time is come that you do not now speak me about difficulties, but only of the means of accomplishing all that I tell you; depend on my supporting you, therefore fill yourself with confidence and ambition, and pay particular attention to my instructions.

I want to have allways at my dispossal six hundred Chicasaws well commanded, people of courage and trust, at the head of whom you and Ugulayacabe must be along with all his Friends, ready to go wherever I shall desire tho' not farther than the Bluffs or to the Walnuthills, or the like if I should ever require it. Consult with Ugulayacabe this important object and form a plan to secure the execution thereof, and acquaint me with the results, with all the possible expedition, sending a diligent Express with the Letter: if Ugulayacabe has any particular person to send here with his instructions to treat with me this subject I should find it very advisable; indeed if I did not think that Ugulayacabe's pressence in the Nation was not necessary I should request his comming, but I aprehend that during his absence Payemingo might return, and taking advantage

<sup>181</sup> BL, (English).

of the circumstance would work the minds of the people to lead them another way; I am sure that both Ugulayacabe and you will be of the same opinion. Tell Ugulayacabe that to put this measure in execution I know very well that the people must be contented and pleased, and that I have the means of doing it as soon as I shall know what will be wanting.

I shall order your draft to be immediately pay'd as soon as it is presented by M<sup>r</sup>. Turnbull or his order.

As to young Freazer tell him that he shall loose nothing by me, and that if he had no share in the presents, I will make it up the first time I see him, which very likely will be when you answer this Letter, if you send him as an Express, or accompanying some person of confidence of the choice of Ugulayacabe.

Give me every possible information that you may judge worthy my notice and particularly concerning the means that the Americans put in practice to attract the good will and preference of the Chicasaws; in this is comprehended the conduct of Payemingo. Be likewise attentive to the behaviour of the part of the Chactas, that you mention in your Letter intended to cross this River to make war on those of the other side. I cannot suppose that they were as numerous as it is reported, for generally it is the way with Indians to increase number even beyond all probability.

I finish this long Letter by assuring you of the most satisfactory acknowledgement of your good services, therefore I repeat once more to you to exert yourself and to take advantage of this lucky moment and your fortune is made.

I remain with greatest Esteem and regard Your most affectionate Friend & humble Servant—

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS

NATCHEZ the 22<sup>th</sup> May 1794.

MR. BENJAMIN FOOT

*It is a copy*

GAYOSO (Rubric)

TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*May 31, 1794*<sup>182</sup>

No. 186.

I am sending Your Lordship a statement which shows the distribution of that amount of trade carried on along the Missouri River which in this year has fallen to the share of each merchant of this town of St. Louis and of the village of Ste. Geneviève. All has been done in accordance with the form ordered in the new

regulation, and after the merchants themselves have apportioned the trade among the posts in the best possible manner. This has served to prevent any complaint or dissatisfaction.

Your Lordship will see by the report itself how small is the value of the commerce of the Missouri, which yearly decreases more and more. The introduction of merchandise increases imperceptibly, but the amount of peltries taken out by traders grows less and less. They are satisfied now if they get twenty-five percent when in times past they obtained as much as three or four hundred.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *May 31, 1794.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

CARONDELET TO LITTLE TURKEY

*June 1, 1794*<sup>183</sup>

NEW ORLEANS *the 1st Juin 1794*

*Little turkey Great Chief of the Cherokee Nation*

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER Governor Gayoso sent me your letter of the 8th April, by which I am very glad to find the good dispositions of the Cheroquis to be at peace, to suspend all future hostility & promote the sentiments of reconciliation betwixt all parties assembled at Walnut Hills.

Although as yet I received no answer to the letter I wrote to the Minister residing at Philadelphia to engage the Americans to suspend all hostile preparations on their part from the first of April as I advised to your Nation, & to the creeks; nevertheless my talk breathes allwais peace.

I am to tell you friendly that I am not satisfied with the Messengers you send to the creek Nation; because they have been so fool as to conceal the pourport of their Message, showing themselves ennemis of Spain, since I am informed they entered into some bad plan proposed by some of the bad young people of the creek who intended to do harm to our settlements at Movila: this behaviour is not agreeable to the friendship and liberal protection given by Spain; I am certain that your people has been seduced and deluded; & to prevent this you ought to warn them to shut their ears to those bloody talk.

Live peaceable, & take arms only to defend yourselves and your territory that is all you ought to do.

Should there happen any thing new or extraordinary you will acquaint me immediately by an express—

(Official letter number 487 from NATCHEZ).

<sup>183</sup> BL, (English). There is also a Spanish draft in BL.

## LETTER BY BRUIN

June 6, 1794<sup>184</sup>

In the course of this Spring and during the rumour of an intended Invasion, from the Sans-Culottes of Kentucke, but the precise day, I do not remember, Captain John Burnet call'd on me, at my place of Residence, on the Bayou Pierre, and, in a variety of other conversation, submitted to me, the propriety, of petitioning Government on the Subject, of our Debts—He observed, that Government wou'd be more likely, to attend to an application of this kind, in our actual circumstances of apprehended Danger, than at a time, when the Services of the People, might not be deem'd so necessary; that the People were willing, to do their Duty, but that many of them, consider'd the Property they held, as not their own, but as belonging to their Creditors and that in case of their falling in Action, this property might be wrested from their Families and they must suffer in consequence. I objected to the measure, as being highly improper and impertinent and combated with the Captain, on his own premisses. I told him, that in the hour of Danger, Government had a right, to expect from us, *obedience* and not *remonstrance*: that an application at that time, wou'd carry with it, more the appearance of a *Demand*, than of a *Petition*; that it might tend to embarrass Government, but not benefit ourselves. that so extraordinary an indulgence might prove the reward, but ought not to be expected as a Bribe, to the faithful performance of our Duty. That this wou'd be claiming the Palm, before we had gain'd the Victory & the Reward, before we had done the Work—That Shou'd We be so fortunate as to defeat the Enemy, (of which, I had no doubt,) our Services wou'd not be forgotten, but represented in such a manner, to our Gracious Sovereign, as to induce the good consequences, which We were then anticipating—These are the Arguments I made use of, at that time, to the best of my present recollection. I wou'd not have it infer'd from this, that the Captain did not mean to do his Duty, I believe He wou'd have done it faithfully. But He was embarrass'd in his circumstances, (as the most of us are,) and wish'd to have his Debts paid. So did I. But, as We had not prepar'd the necessary Funds in our Agent's,—The Governor's hands,—I thought it might be inconvenient for his Excellency, to pay so many Bills on Sight, & was dispos'd to give him a longer Day. With respect to the good Disposition of the People, I had no doubt,—I cou'd have none. Their Spirited Behaviour on all former occasions, The sense they express'd of their impending Danger, and their Determination to oppose it,

<sup>184</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

plac'd this matter beyond all Doubt. And it wou'd have been highly improper, to have suggested anything at that time, which might have occasion'd Discontent or diverted them from our main object: that of a Spirited Defence.—

BRY<sup>d</sup>. BRUIN (Rubric)

NATCHEZ *June 6<sup>th</sup> 1794*

DE VEGAS TO CARONDELET

*June 7, 1794*<sup>185</sup>

MY DEAR SIR AND VENERATED CHIEF: In obedience to the order which was given me to come to this post and relieve Captain Don Francisco Montreuil, I did so without delay, arriving here on the 16th of last May. Consequently, I consider it my duty to reiterate to Your Lordship my obedience and respect.

By my official letters, which will reach the hands of Your Lordship by the regular channel, you will learn the necessity of the works and repairs which are urgent in these defences and lodgings. Without them the honor of the arms of the King and of the officer in command will be compromised if any action of war should occur.

The trading storehouses, the peltry, and the slaves of this house of Panton are just so many other stimuli to the greed of the indigent Indians, and Americans of doubtful faith. The former are discontented because of the prices, and the latter because of Panton's exclusive commerce. This condition, together with the freedom from duties, is also a spur to competition by his own compatriots, who have tried to establish their clandestine commerce in this vicinity in order to ruin that of Panton, as is known to Your Lordship. It is consequently a costly evil and a continuous alarm for this fort, for, being assured of its weakness and that the trading storehouse is in it, it would not be strange if, to satisfy their ambition and poverty, they should make an attempt against his property with two divisions, directing one at his house and the other against us to surprise us at one blow. This would not be difficult on account of the poor resistance of the stockade, as Your Lordship will see in my official letter No. 6.

In this uninhabited country there is no other aid than that of the friendly Indians of the neighborhood, who could be called if there should be any suspicious prelude. However, since we lack any large supply of provisions, guns, munitions, and other trade goods absolutely indispensable for their entertainment and stimulus, no use could be made of this expedient. Even after every defense possible,

if we should see ourselves compelled to yield to superior force, an honorable capitulation could not be expected, nor is there any place to which a retreat can be made after upholding the honor of our arms. Thus, a general sacrifice would be inevitable, but from it there would result no advantage to the King or the nation, and the enemy would accomplish their object, even though they should afterwards abandon the fort. We are now at the time to consider how to avoid it. For these reasons I hope that the equity and military skill of Your Lordship will furnish me with the assistance for which I ask in order to be able to fulfill the confidence which you have deigned to place in my command. If I have the honor to die at the beginning or in the midst of such an attack, let the defenses of the border post be given to my second in command in order to continue it with confidence.

There is in this archive an official letter of Your Lordship copied by the governor of Pensacola in which you gave authority to my predecessor to enlist some 200 Indians in case he found it necessary. Although it would not be difficult if I should see myself in the same situation, it cannot be put into practice because there is a lack of a sufficient supply of food and ammunition, as I mention above, especially of the last named. Furthermore there is no means of supplying them. Since there is no other source here in an emergency and as there would be no cessation of hostilities to wait for them from the province, I take upon myself the liberty of testing your goodwill to see if it is your pleasure that I shall request supplies in an official letter through the regular channel, in case you deign to grant me this assistance.

For the rest, I beg that Your Lordship will be convinced, that, if for this or any other reason the fort should be attacked, the arms of the King will not be disgraced; nor will there be any failure to take such measures as may be offered by skill in proportion to its defenses, and the aid which may be provided for me.

I expect from the goodness of Your Lordship that you will answer me, and that you will issue, for my obedience, orders at your pleasure, so that I may place myself promptly at your service. In the meantime I continue to pray God to keep the life of Your Lordship many years.

SAN MARCOS DE APALACHE, *June 7, 1794.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands. Your most attentive subject and servant,

DIEGO DE VEGAS (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.



## BRASHEARS TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*June 8, 1794*<sup>186</sup>*Answered on the 28 day }  
of June 1794 }*

No. 5.

CHOCTAW NATION

MY DIER FRIEND This is to inform you of my safe arival in Good helth Hoping this may Find you in the Same I have nothing strainge to Inform you of only that Yallow Wood Is ded and Old Friday News is very Still Jest now the Lower Towns is gon to Mobile but the uppers has not John Pitchlyn and George James and Several others has gon to Cumberland with Sum heade Men I Stopped the Indians from going to the Creeks Acording to the Govno. General orders to me and I Believe it has Bin on our favor The Creeks thretens the Chicasaws and Says that beteen now and fall tha will Kill them I umbly Beg Liefe of his Excelency to Relate the Down fall of the Trade Owing to the Commandant of the Hills According to your word and orders to me I thaught that the trade of that Plase was Stopped and for that Reason I Baught the Dets he had in the hands of the Indians So that he Shold Lose nothing by the Stopeage of the Trade But he trades more now than he did befour and has Dammag me Mor then one thousand Dollars So I think it is very hard for me to Pay him money for nothing Call the Indians thare and give them trust and in Corrages them to Kill Bayr for him instade of Killing Deour for mee I Beg Leave of His Excelency to Put a Stop to the trade in that Destrict for the Good of the Pour Hunters and the Por Trader of this Land So no more at Preasant But I Ever Remain with Esteam your most Obedient

Friend and umble Servent

TURNER BRASHEARS (Rubric)

*June the 8 1794*

MANUEL GAYOSO DELEMOS NATCHEZ

## DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*June 9, 1794*<sup>187</sup>

No. 6.

ANSWERED THE 27th of June

I have just learned that Payemingo of the Chickasaws has left with all his village and some from the others to get presents at Cumberland. His scheme of asking the Choctaws to fight the Kickapoos has worked rather well for him, because, when they were at the Chickasaws, he stopped them and induced them to go with him

<sup>186</sup> BL, (English).<sup>187</sup> BL, (French).

to Cumberland to receive goods, and not to go by way of the Natchez, as I had first told you.

The Chickasaws were quite satisfied with their presents but the Choctaws say that the Chickasaws were given everything and that nothing was kept for them. Therefore they threaten to kill all of Favre's cattle when they return. I hope that they will not do so, although they are pressed by hunger. Their crops have failed again this year. All their corn was burned. They will have to sow again at the first rain, because it will soon be three months since it has rained at all. This has also harmed our expedition a great deal, and will cause enormous expenses to the King, because it has already been necessary to send D'Arbone's boat and all the pirogues twice to unload the big barge, and now they are doing it the third time. The second barge, the one which you meant to send to the fort, is at eight leagues from Tombecbé, that is to say, the old one. That also means it will have to be partly unloaded so that it may come up to the fort. There has never been such heat at this season here before, since last year the waters were still high on the 7th of September.

Payemingo still wants to declare war on the Talapoosas, but Ogoulayacabe is strenuously opposed to it, and his plans did not get any further. We have not heard anything from the Talapoosas since the arrival of the messenger whom I had sent to Villiers about the horses which they had stolen. They returned two of them, which they gave to the messenger. The other one belonged to them. This has had a good effect. Red Shoe is the one who has had them returned. This may prevent them from doing it again. At any rate I shall be careful. Villiers writes me to explain that he will keep me informed of anything of importance. You told me that Seagrove had left for America, but he did not tell me anything about it. I recommended that he make friends with the Parisian, who is quite familiar with these nations and can give them only good advice. I have just been told that Franchimastabe is not leaving to get his presents. Mingopouscouche is in mourning for his wife and has not gone there either, nor has Nanhoulymastabe, whose wife has also just died. They are three of the principal chiefs of the nation. There has been also some little pique about Jusan's mission. I have always a large number of savages at the fort and I am obliged under the present circumstances to give them rations for three days, and some bread to the chiefs. You may judge what will happen when they come back from Mobile. If you think it wise, I shall send the barge to St. Etienne to get corn and store it for the time the waters will be high again, which cannot fail to happen as soon as it rains, but I shall expect your orders on this matter. Favre has not a single grain of corn, nor has any of the others, not even for their Negroes,

and they are dying of hunger. The soldiers arrived too late to harvest, and besides they have too much work. That will be for next year. They have not even been able to plant a garden.

God have you in His holy keeping.

JN. DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

FORT OF THE CONFEDERATION, *9th of June, 1794.*

To the BARON DE CARONDELET, Governor general.

CARONDELET TO TRUDEAU

*June 10, 1794*<sup>188</sup>

*Answered*

The great chief Lafond and two chiefs of the Little Osages were assassinated some twenty leagues from this fort through the treachery of the Chicksaw chief Ouilabé, who, having lost his son in the beginning of the ~~year~~ in an encounter with the Osages, came down here in search of the latter with twenty-two warriors. Notwithstanding all the means I employed, the carelessness of six Osages in coming to land without arms gave him the opportunity to kill three of them. Subsequently, I have taken all precautions possible to make certain the return of the three remaining, ordering the governor of Natchez to send them in a galley to Little Prairie, where they will be put on land, in order to avoid the dangerous passage of Ecores à Margot, which the Chickasaws will doubtless occupy.

We may believe that, if the other three chiefs arrive safely at their villages as I hope, they will contribute in dispelling the suspicions of the rest who, without this circumstance, might be aroused by the unfortunate fate of Lafond and his companions. Since one can count but little on these savages, it is necessary for you to warn all the towns to be on the defensive until it is known what part the Indians will take—whether to avenge their death upon the Chicksaws, or, failing with this, upon us whites.

If those barbarians determine to begin hostilities against our settlements it will be indispensable to carry out the plan which I have previously communicated to you; that is, to unite some four hundred whites, well-armed, with six hundred Indians of all the nations at war with the Osages, supplying them with provisions, powder, and ball at the expense of the King, in order to march on their villages and isolate them entirely, in case it is not possible to surprise their inhabitants.

You will give notice in advance of this determination of mine to the commandants of New Madrid, Arkansas, and Natchitoches, in-

<sup>188</sup> BL.

forming them of my order to engage the Indians of their districts to march at the same time against the Osages, for they will probably be dispersed in the woods, and consequently will be easily beaten. The commandant of Arkansas may perhaps pass on the same notification to the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, who doubtless will not throw away such a fine opportunity for vengeance.

The objections opposed by those inhabitants to the execution of this project arise, more likely, from timidity and considerations of private interests than anything else. For this reason it is necessary to make light of these objections, and give them to understand that their tranquillity, security, and fortune depend on the total destruction of that nation whose punishment will impose on the rest the respect due our forces.

If on the contrary the nation shows itself to be content with us and ready to carry out what I have contracted with its chiefs and with Monsieur Chouteau, you will endeavor to prevent all hostility against it, aiding and protecting Monsieur Chouteau in the prompt execution of his contract.

May God protect Your Lordship many years.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 10, 1794.*

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

SEÑOR DON ZENON TRUDEAU.

LA FORGE TO CARONDELET

*June 12, 1794*<sup>189</sup>

MY LORD GOVERNOR AND INTENDANT GENERAL: Pierre Antoine Laforge, of French origin, forty-three years old, father of five children, has the honor of setting forth respectfully, that having suffered the entire loss of his fortune in the misfortunes attendant upon the French Revolution, he had believed himself able to procure for his family a comfortable living by purchasing from a company established at Paris, under the name of Company of Scioto, lands which were supposed to be situated on the Ohio River in the Northwest Territory of North America. After incurring enormous expenses to bring over from France his family and three farm hands to their place of destination, after having persevered in laboring and maintaining with all his strength and courage the settlement made by the French immigrants on the shores of the Ohio for four consecutive years, finally, after having exhausted all his resources, he has had the misfortune of seeing his hopes shattered upon finding out

<sup>189</sup> BL, (French).

that the company which had sold lands to the immigrants was in no position to deliver them.

He remembered luckily, but too late for his unfortunate family, that by going down the Ohio River and the Mississippi he would find a just and sympathetic government which has always welcomed honest but unfortunate persons. He went down there confidently, with the hope of using his talents which had been developed by the education and professions in which he spent the greater part of his youth. He arrived at New Madrid on the 20th of December last, and several of his compatriots, former residents of Gallipolis, begged him to remain there. Toward the middle of the following January, the death of the Sieur Antoine Gamelin who filled the position of public scribe in that city, put the petitioner in a position to offer his services to Monsieur Thomas Portelle, commandant of this place. He informed him that he had been a notary in Paris and had practiced for fifteen years, that his conduct had always been regular, in France as well as in America, and that he could give as proof of the esteem in which his compatriots of Gallipolis had held him, their free and voluntary nomination of himself as their justice of the peace.

The commandant of New Madrid was kind enough to accept the offer of the petitioner, and from that time on he has drawn up all public records, and he has assiduously performed all the writings which the commandant entrusted to him. The commandant notified the petitioner that it would be necessary for him to learn the Spanish language, and the petitioner at present writes out all the important records of the citizens in Spanish, to the satisfaction of the commandant. Encouraged by the kindnesses of the commandant, he has finally made up his mind to settle at New Madrid, and has bought a house and lot. However, despite all his care and application, he cannot help feeling that nothing is less permanent than the position which he is occupying as long as it has not received your approbation and as long as you have not given it the stability which it is in your power to give. That is why respectable friends who are taking an interest in his fate and that of his family have advised him to address himself to you confidently.

Under these circumstances, my Lord Governor, the petitioner requests you to be so kind as to consider the misfortunes and bad luck which he has suffered through his great trust in a company of Americans whom he believed to be honest, and to remember that he is the father of a family. He begs you to put him in a position to bring up his five children with sentiments of gratitude towards a beneficent government, by conferring upon him in a permanent and well-defined way the post of public scribe of the district of New Madrid, which

Monsieur Portelle has been good enough to entrust to him temporarily.

The petitioner, filled with feelings of gratitude which are appropriate for your kindness, will not cease to pray with his family for the conservation of your days.

PIERRE ANTOINE LAFORGE (Rubric).

NEW MADRID, *12th of June, 1794.*

NEW ORLEANS, *October 29, 1795.*

Inform the commandant of New Madrid that having made certain of that which is explained he shall keep him in the employment which will extricate him from debt. This approval shall be extended according to the reply of the aforesaid commandant.

EL BARON DE CARONDELET [Rubric].

D'EGLISE TO CARONDELET

*June 19, 1794*<sup>190</sup>

SEÑOR GOVERNOR GENERAL: Jacques D'Eglise, citizen resident in the town of St. Louis of Ylinois, with all due respect, represents to Your Lordship that in the year 1792, while the exponent was engaged, under the proper permission, in his customary occupation of hunting on the Missouri River, he had gone by way of this river as far as the Maha nation. He there met Don Pedro Montardy, lieutenant of militia of the aforesaid post of St. Louis who was engaged in trading on the river. From him the exponent bought some merchandise for trading with the Indians and with it and two employees set out on the road to look for some of the nations with whom there was at that time no trade or commerce whatever. After he had traveled for the space of two months, a little more or less, he came to the Mandan and Jayene nations, about three hundred leagues distant from the Poncas, and after a parley with them, he set up a trade not advantageous to him at that time, for he had not sufficient merchandise for it. Nevertheless, after disposing of the merchandise he had, he laid before those Indians the advantages which would result to them from the commerce which he had come to establish and explained to them the greatness of the Spanish nation and the wise measures of its government. He promised to return in the following year with the goods they needed for their consumption. He promised to give information about them to the commandant of these settlements. This he did last year, relating it all to Señor Don Zenon Trudeau, present commandant, who granted the exponent the necessary permission to return and confirm what he had agreed upon with the

said nations of Mandan and Jayene. He was accompanied by a man named Gareau and each one took a pirogue loaded with the goods and paddlers necessary for their operation. The bad conduct of Gareau and his turbulent and libertine spirit, put the exponent in danger of losing everything among those nations. Gareau gave away the goods entrusted to him for trading, using them for indecent purposes other than those for which they had been designed. As a result the exponent was compelled to come down to these settlements with the goods and peltry which he had been able to collect in order to satisfy his creditors, but not having accomplished anything except to have somewhat softened the barbarous character of those nations, and to have been the first to establish commerce with them. It appears from the accompanying affidavits and is well-known in these establishments of Ylinois that the exponent has lost his time, his work, and the money he might have drawn from this trade, by the bad conduct of the aforesaid Gareau, who became completely abandoned and remained among those Indians after he had entirely consumed all the merchandise he carried, without having sent the smallest thing to his creditors.

In view of all this he humbly begs Your Lordship to grant to him the exclusive commerce of the said nations for the term of four years, on the same terms as are enjoyed by the aforesaid Juan Munier for the discovery of the Ponca nation, so that by this means he may recover to some extent the losses which he has suffered in the discovery of those nations. He asks that he be recompensed in this manner for the hardships which he has suffered, the danger to his life at every step which is inseparable from such trading, and for his past losses. He also asks that he be allowed liberty to buy his merchandise wherever he pleases, without being compelled to take it from any designated store provided he is obligated as he ought to be, not to contract any clandestine trade or any that is offensive to any person. He hopes to receive this favor through the great sense of justice of Your Lordship.

JACQUES D'EGLISE (Rubric).

We, the undersigned, certify, in the best possible form and according to law, that Jacques D'Eglise has discovered the Mandan and Jayene nations, as is well-known in these settlements of Ylinois, and in order that it may appear wherever it is necessary we grant him this request and petition for the same, at St. Louis, June 19, 1794.

JH. ROBIDOUX (Rubric)

*Witness*

PR. LACOMBE (Rubric)

*Witness*

EUGENIO ÁLVAREZ (Rubric)

MONTARD

PIERRE QUENEL

*Witness*

STEUBEN TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS <sup>191</sup>

SIR: The favorable welcome and the kindnesses that you have accorded to Mr. Mitchel, and which he does not cease to recount to me in terms of the greatest gratitude, encourage me to recommend him to your protection in his project of settling and finding fortune in the states of His Catholic Majesty.

This young man was brought up in my household and, as I discovered some genius in him as well as a probity beyond reproach, I made him learn the sciences necessary to make a good engineer-geographer out of him. His progress has given me satisfaction, and the attachment which he has shown towards me makes me desire that he find a career in harmony with his ambitions. He seems determined to devote himself to the service of His Majesty, your master, and to take the oath of fidelity. He has given me his word of honor never to deviate from the duties of a faithful subject of his new Sovereign.

Under these conditions, I promised him to claim your protection for him. Accede to my request, Sir, and remain persuaded of my profound gratitude, and of the perfect respect with which I have the honor of being, Sir, Your most obedient servant.

STEUBEN (Rubric)

DON MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS Governor and Commander in Chief, etc.—

## MITCHELL TO GAYSO DE LEMOS

*June 20, 1794* <sup>192</sup>

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLEN<sup>cy</sup>: That I take this opportunity to inform you that I am settled in the United States; nor expect any more to see the happy district of the Natches— His Majesties Commissioners after my return treated me with some neglect apparently to myself, as I suppose through the influence of Gen<sup>l</sup>. Knox—who I believe to be the greatest scoundrel in the U. S. I signified my intention, and demanded payment at 3 Dollars p<sup>r</sup>. day for my voyage to New Orleans, at the same time sent Baron Steubens Letter, a copy of which is inclosed to Your Excellency, to prove myself to be known as an honest Man—

This drew a passport and letter with a promise of payment, if I demanded it, in preference to anything else His Majesty might do for me, It was then too late for me to alter my course, having made some commercial engagements and not break them,—And to prove

<sup>191</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (French). Without date.

<sup>192</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).



to the world that I am able to live respected in my own Country shall make an attempt should a man be hardy enough to disturb my tranquility, he shall find a Man brave enough to resist—

I do not complain of His Majesty's Commissioners, they have paid me, which is more than my own Country ever did—but when I found a rascal base enough to persecute me in a foreign Country, I thought proper to stay and be avenged, because I fought for the U.S. and am intitled to the protection of its Laws—

You have lost a soldier and a friend by the intrigues of Knox, but rely upon my honor that I never will draw my sword against his C M. I regret much that I am to have no opportunity of drawing one in your favor, which I trust you will find the necessity of ere long—

Your Excellency was my friend, and you shall never blush for the generosity of your heart, I am the man which I told you I was, nor did I ever tell you a lye— As a Loyal Subject I wrote several Letters to his C M Commissioners, but never received an answer till I threatened them with disagreeable measures, and particularly with sending you copys of my Letters—I repent that I took such a measure but I dare not go to your Country after receiving coolness, untill I knew the reason, at the same time thought myself injured very much after showing myself their friend—My compliments to my old friends tell them that I bid them a long farewell—and shall forever

remain your Excellency's unalterable friend

M. MITCHELL (Rubric)

NEW YORK, *June 20<sup>th</sup> 94*

D<sup>n</sup> M. GAYOSO DE LEMOS &c., &c.

CHEROKEE CHIEFS TO [CARONDELET]

*June 20, 1794*<sup>193</sup>

PENSACOLA, *June 20, 1794*

TO OUR SPANISH FATHER: With the permission of the one to whom you referred us here, we are writing the present letter, although it is not our custom to use paper to write. However, we shall do it today with the intention of proving our gratitude to you and of thanking you for the kindnesses which you have shown toward us in ordering presents which were given to us by your representative. We are as satisfied with them as we are with you.

In return we are sending you three branches of white *natatince* to support everything our heart is going to impart to you, and to set forth the news we have received from the nations, as well as what we

<sup>193</sup> BL, (French).

are thinking for the welfare of our good Spanish Father and ourselves.

1. My Father, we warn you that when all the powder which you have sent us will be divided among all our warriors, there will be just enough for each one to shoot three shots; thus you see that we shall not have very much with which to fight our enemies.

2. Little Turkey, one of the chiefs of our nation, has already turned part of our village in favor of the Americans, so you see that he has two hearts and two mouths, and that he has not kept his word.

3. All the Shawnees from the north have come down to our villages to help us defend you and guard our lands.

4. The branch of *nataince* of which you see the tip red, is to be proof to you of the blood the Americans have shed on our lands since we have left our homes to visit you. One great chief and about twenty persons have been killed.

5. The Americans say in all the nations, that when you give something to the redskins it is only with regret, especially silver. They say that the bracelets are tight, the gorgets, ear-rings, crosses, and reliquaries, and the rest are all small. They, on the contrary, give us everything with good heart and in abundance.

6. We must know that the King, Our Father, expressly commands his generals to be very careful about his children. For this reason we beg you, Our Father, to have us recognized as chiefs by our young men by sending us two epaulettes and one uniform to each village and war chief, and to the subordinates one uniform and one epaulette so that we may be distinguishable from our warriors and respected by strangers.

7. Since you have refused to let us have as commissioner in our villages the cousin of our interpreter, we are asking you a second time, Our Father, to send as commissioner an officer from your battalion named Don Francisco Belestre, whom we shall adopt and respect as we did his father whom we had in our villages at the time of the war of 1758. We beg you to send him to our village, because we cannot any longer hide the fact that we absolutely do not want the American whom you have given us.

8. You will not forget, Our Father, to send us drums, flutes, ammunition of war, swords, pistols, etc. We inform you that we have already prepared about 200 horses to come here to carry away everything that you will want and see fit to give us, and that we will be here in about a month and a half.

So, My Father, we have nothing more to tell you except to beg you to believe that we shall be until the last breath your sincere and

faithful children, and we sign after having this read to us and translated by Louis Crépaux, who also signed with us.

X Mark of OLETTAYS, Great Chief of the Cherokees

X Mark of TETINHEE, Great Chief of the Cherokees.

On the address of the letter which you will write to us, forbid everybody but ourselves from opening it. The names of our villages are Nigouthaigui and Aquauquine.

PORTELL TO CARONDELET

*June 21, 1794*<sup>194</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: It appears that the fort which the Americans wish to establish is on the ruins of Fort Massac or Cherokee and for this reason the Indians of this vicinity have become fearful. I tried to dissipate the apprehensions of a Shawnee who attempted to make me appreciate his fears, but I believe I did not succeed.

The enclosed letter which is in its original form, will inform Your Lordship of what General Robertson tells me.

As soon as it is learned that the new fort of the Americans is in such a state that its plan may be recognized, I shall send a person of whom they have no suspicions to ascertain by a glance of the eye what they are going to construct. I shall give you a report of his observations.

In order to put in effect the above plan, I believe the best thing will be to send a message to compliment the commandant as a token of courtesy and good breeding in consideration of the nearness, as it is only twenty leagues distant. In this case I shall make the form moderate, not saying anything extreme, but taking a middle course.

I desire for Your Lordship the best of health, and assure you of my esteem. I am at your orders. In the meantime I pray God to keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *June 21, 1794.*

I kiss Your Lordship's hands.

TOMÁS PORTELL (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO DELAVILLEBEUVRE

*June 23, 1794*<sup>195</sup>

The traders of the Choctaw nation and Franchimastabé write to me to complain that the first named are suffering considerable detriment to their interests because of the trade which is carried

<sup>194</sup> BL.

<sup>195</sup> BL.

on at the post of Nogales and here with the Indians of their nation. Although I do not believe what they say in regard to this is well-founded, nevertheless I have again given the strictest orders to the commandant of the post of Nogales not to permit, for any reason or pretext, trading there with any Indian, unless it be to buy fresh deer or bear meat. The latter cannot do them any damage, for it is not easy for the Indians to carry it to their nation. I have circulated the same order in this district.

To the traders mentioned I am replying that I have taken these measures; and I tell them that, although I do not doubt that such trade is being carried on, the damage from which they are suffering depends principally on nothing else except the Indians who go wandering around in great numbers in this district without any other means of living than by begging and sometimes stealing. They themselves go to the traders and beg them to trust them, promising to go hunting, but instead of doing so they remain in this district in the way that I say and, when they return to their houses, they excuse themselves by saying that they were cheated and that all their peltries were bought from them. This is the principal cause in my opinion, and for that reason I advise them that what they ought to do is to send some important persons to gather up these vagabonds and take them to their nation.

To Franchimastabé I make the same response, and I am making them all feel that it is painful to me, since you are in that nation, that they do not address their complaint to you, for it is through you that I ought to receive it as you are the only person there to protect them and administer justice to them. So that you may be informed of the contents of the said letters, and in order to make them see that it is through you that they must receive the accompanying reply, I am sending them open, so that after sealing them you may send them to their destinations.

Now is a good time for you to write to Franchimastabé and tell the other headmen of that nation that this evil springs from the Indians who go wandering everywhere, especially in this district, and that in order to put a stop to it it is indispensable and necessary to send some influential Indians to gather up and take to their nations those who are going about dispersed and without occupation. You should take advantage of all the means that you may judge opportune to induce them to do this as it is very important. If not, I shall be obliged to take violent measures. God keep you many years.

NATCHEZ, *June 23, 1794.*

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS

Señor DON JUAN VILLEBEUVRE

It is a copy; GAYOSO (Rubric)

## POYMUTAHAW TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

[June, 1794] <sup>196</sup>*Second in Command of Said Nation, Tobocaw*

Old Friend whin you Sea this think of my White People Our talks was not to Deceive won an other Think them Small trades is Carried on on be Noing to you I have not for Got you But it Seems that you have for Got me it is a long time Sence I Heard from you the Commidander of the Walnut Hills is Carred on a Grate trad with Indians and I Beg of you to Stop The white People is Destrest by the Bad yusage of the Petty trade of that Plase This is All from

Your Old friend and brother

POYMUTAHAW

FOR MANUEL GAYOSODELEMOUS

## FRANCHIMASTABE TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

[June, 1794] <sup>197</sup>*Franchmastabia Grate King of the Choctaw Nation*

Old Friend and Brother this is the Secon time that I Beg of his Excelencey to Stop the trade of the Walnut Hills and Reapaleea of the Big Black and Basset of the Boyopier. a Red Man of Coles Creek and Battest at Natches your tlke I Beleav in and I don't Think you ever has bin informe of the Smuging trade that Is Carred on in the Destrict of Natches thare for I Beg of your Excelencey to Put a Stop to trade in that Cuntry Trade of Our Nation Runed by the People of that Plase and Makes our White Peopple that Supploys us with Goods Pore thare four I Beg of My Good Old Friend to Put a Stop To it as tha My People ma Bring thare Skins home in Stead of Hunting for Dier us tha are InCorrage to Kill Barr which is a Grate hirt to us and Stonohomer will take this to you and tell you the truth and Bring me an Swar Back as I can Bein Good hart again I wold com myself But the weather is heavy hot So I Send my Neffew with this

FRANCHAMASTABIA

MANUEL GAYOSO DELEMOUS

<sup>196</sup> BL, (English).<sup>197</sup> BL, (English).

## TRADERS OF THE CHOCTAW NATION TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

[June, 1794] <sup>198</sup>N<sup>o</sup>. 1.*To His Excelency*

DON MANUEL GAYOSO DELEMOUS Lieutenant Cornol

Commander in Chief of the District of Natches

We The Traders of the Choctaw Nation met and assembled do most humbly beg leave to Represent to your Excelency the numberless abuse which provails in the Trade of this nation in order that you may endeavour by you authoreity Cause the Same to be ritefied as we can only Suppose they thave Cabused So long owing to your not Knowing them

Firstly our Indians Hunters who are Obliged to go to the other Side of the Missispea to Kill dier and ar fitted out for that purpose by your petitinour are often intersepted on thare return by people who Contrivs to get a quntity of Taffee at that particulor Season and by thare means purchases the Skins with which the Hunters wold pay thar Depts to us availing themselves of the Knomon propertey of the unfair meanes doing us Grate hirt not only thare interlopers prevents us from injoing the fruits of our Industry but agrate number of petty Stors astablated in the Settlemnt on the Hunting path do the Same and thareby encorreges a growing vice amongst the Red pople which aught to be put a Stopt to thar Supplyes under the managements of Man Schouly we might orselves do better and bring the Indians in time to be mour usefill to Goverment Another measure destructive to us & of no use to Goverment is the Store of Turnbull at yassaw which is equally bad in intercepting our Piltry and encouraging the Indiands to deceve ous. We have often wished to report thes Matter to your Excellency as a huss ancer had we not been asure by our Marchant an Mobile that is Stopped but to our Curprise we Heare of his arrval in the Same plase with anew Supply be beg your Excellency to take this measure enter your Consideracion & cause Cuch Remedy to be appleid as your may in your wisdom then be put for which as in duty bound we shall always pray—

JANBATIS (Rubric)

DAVID CHOTA (Rubric)

WILLIAM STANLEY

ENOK NELSON

TURNER BRASHEARS

PHILLIP HAY

LEWIS WARD (Rubric)

MASTANG *Fils*

LOUI FLOS

MICHELLE

LOUI CATENS

EDWARD ROGERS

JOHN HENCOCK

<sup>198</sup> BL., (English).

## GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO FRANCHIMASTABE

*June 27, 1794*<sup>199</sup>

No. 3.

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER, FRANCHIMASTABE In a Letter I received from some of your white Traders I found your recommendation to their request and in consequence thereof I have given the most positive orders all over this Government to prevent any Trade being carried on with your red People, for I know very well, that such a Commerce will not only be hurtfull to M<sup>r</sup>. Panthon but likewise to all the Traders living in your Nation.

Though I have done the needfull in consideration of you and your white People, yet I am sorry that when you thought of mee, you did not remember my talks by speaking to M<sup>r</sup>. Delavillebeuvre on the Subject, you and the white people would have spared yourselves a great deal of trouble and have pleased me more, by giving me that proof of your Friendship.—however I was glad to see Stonahuma to whom I gave a Small Medal, that I had kept for him, he will tell you several things that I told him about a great many of your People, that are idling here with great hurt to your nation M<sup>r</sup>. Delavillebeuvre will likewise talk to you on the same subject.

In the same Letter there was some writing from my old Friend Payumataha, tell him that I paid attention to it, and that I have done everything that was necessary.

I wish you all well and assure you, that I shall always do every thing in my power for the good of your nation. I hope you will never forget my talks, and put your People in mind of them, and I shall never forget you.

I remain with Esteem Your Sincere friend

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS

It is a copy

GAYOSO (Rubric)

*27<sup>th</sup>. June 1794.*

## GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO CHOCTAW TRADERS

*June 28, 1794*<sup>200</sup>N<sup>o</sup>. 2. Copy.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your Adress by the hand of Stonahuma and am very sorry that you should have any just cause of complaint with regard to the abuses committed on your trade. You are perfectly acquainted that I have taken the most efficacious

<sup>199</sup> BL, (English).

<sup>200</sup> BL, (English).

measures to prevent any such agrieivances; I am really surprized that any trade should be carry on at Nogales, however to prevent the like for the future I have just now given the strickest orders to the Commandant of that Post forbiding not only him, but every body else there to trade with Indians except for fresh provissions, which it is impossible for them to carry it to the Nation, I shall likewise circulate the same order throughout this Government, and finally I shall always do everything in my power to prosper your trade, but still all my exertions will be in vain for I am persuaded that the origin of your grievances proceeds more from the idleness of your Indians that from any illicit Commerce of the people of this Country: there is constantly a considerable number of Ramblers that has no other business than to live on the publick, not only by what they can get by fair means, but likewise by stealing, which will bring trouble upon them for at last I shall be forced to treat them with rigor. These People are a pest to us and to you, and of no service at all to their Nation I am persuaded that this people take a trip to the Nation, get goods from you on a promisse of going to hunt and in stead of that they return here to their own Trade, and when they go back again they make you believe what never existed to excuse themselves.

Your are more interested than any body else to prevent this real abuse, by prevailing upon the principal Chiefs to send some persons of influence to carry this People off, and lead them into the path of industry.

Now that I have answered your Letter I cannot help finding fault in your not making aplication to the King's Commissary in that Nation whom you must consider your Protector, and by whose means all the Representations are to be directed to the Governor of this Province, he certainly will not refuse to do you justice on every ocssion, I excuse you however now sure that for the future you will employ his good offices, and that you will pride yourselves in valueing his consequence, in which you will give great satisfaction to the Governor General and to me

I have gratify'd Stonahuma for his trouble, not only by some little presents, but likewise by giving him the small Medal to which he was entitled, therefore I believe he returns pleased.

I shall separately answer to Franchimastabe and to Payemataha—I remain with Esteem—Gentlemen—Your most humble Servt.—

MANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS

NATCHEZ the 28<sup>th</sup> June 1794

It is a copy  
GAYOSO (Rubric)



## UGULAYACABE TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*July 2, 1794*<sup>201</sup>*CHASHATHASA the 2, July 1794*

Dr BROTHER: You will hear from me a great deel this time. Also you desired me to send you and a medient answer to Kno my hart. I am in such circumstances that I cannot comply with your request of that of sending one of my trusty men on the business you proposed. I can not talk to you with pleasure as I am like a person just come out of a great sickness and am falling in a relaps you talk to me as if you was apprehensive of danger I am at present in the same case, the difference is that you have your ammuni- tion and all usfull utensils for war which is not the case with me

It is not what I have seen but what some of my people that are just arrived, who have been up the waters they tell me and it is certain that the Americans have made a fort at or about the old french fort. had I heard of there comming there you should heard from me before but their being there is the first news and as I do not Kno what they mean or where they mean going next, I would advise you to continue to be ready. I do not speak because I think you do not kno but only I give you causion not of thinking of **stopping on that pretty convenient place the Bluff.** Should you set up as you have a fort above to send to, you have not only me but all four those nations Mine is like the others divided so what I speak seems like only myself as some of my people are amongst the Americans, and even the Choctaws who I thought loved only you that country is full of [illegible] . . . .

There is nothing but what you shall hear from me, a son that has gott a father and has a chance dont want to die without letting him kno, so I am son like crying to you as it seems that I am to die. So not having anything to defend myself with You always told me what to do and to love all the Red people of those four nations which has been my Talk amongst my people and warriors but now I have lost there confidence what I say is not only talk also it is not the Lower Creek nation but our town that has lifted up there wapons against me. I have not received there intended blow but expect at any minute Two great men of that nation who I always loved and believed sent me the news of those intentions. I have told you & I believe to late would or could you wish to remedy it. As I am not a person that has as yet taken up arms against any people, for which reason I have never been supplied with ammunition but the others have and I expect always will be, as it will seem as if it was the Spaniards that hates us. it was but the other day that you gathered all four nations and told us that if there was anything not right you would acquaint us but I acquaint you first. it was this that made me talk to you and it was agreed

<sup>201</sup> BL, (English). A Pinart transcript marked AG, Cuba, Fl. Occ. 29-1245.

that whosoever where the first transgressors should loose all Kind of supply when a person believes in vain he will expect his promiss will be performed which makes me tell you—you hear all that I have said. So that my father again supperior at Orleans I expect will hear and see this my talk. I give you these news so remember everything that was agreed on and expect if in your power everything will be done to the satisfaction of my nation, the Town of Tukabatche are the people that seeks disturbance and Ofahayo [?] the elder is the person that sets it on You will not let my talk rest aloan with you but send it to the person I before mentioned that he may send a mediately to the person who intends mischief for my hart is very sore. this is all at present I am now here but I intend to lead my warriors a hunting.

Dear Brother I remain your friend

OUGULAYACKABEE

DOYLE TO PORTELL

*July 6, 1794*<sup>202</sup>

FORT MASSAC *July the 6<sup>th</sup> 1794*

SIR: I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant and with gratefull thanks I beg leave to make a proper return for the polite & friendly tender of your Services as a neighbour, a Brother Soldier and an officer—

As I am consious, a good understanding between your Sovereing & the United States of America, cannot best be promoted, but by the liberality of a Candid intercourse between its officers, I shall with the Greatest pleasure, Assure you of my earliest disposition to promote by all means in my power, Such Exchange of Communication, as may be of mutual advantage to both Countries—

You may have heard before this, that the Intended Expedition against your Settlements, had been Surpressed by the Authority of our Executive, & Should any unlawfull Assembly of this kind appear in future, I will not only oppose them as is my duty, but send You the earliest information—

My earnest wishes, in fullfilling my duty to my Country will be, to find an opportunity to convince you of my personal Esteem and I shall feel very happy to have it in my power to be any ways usefull in any command you may transmitt—

With sentiments of Sincere Regard & friendship

I beg leave to Subscribe Myself

Sir Your ms. ob. Ser<sup>vt</sup>.

T. DOYLE, Major 1st Legion  
Com<sup>d</sup>. Fort Massac

CAPTAIN THOMAS PORTELL, Comd. of the post  
& district of New Madrid.

<sup>202</sup> BL, (English).

## DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*July 7, 1794*<sup>203</sup>

No. 15.

Don Antonio Palau has doubtless informed you of his error in the building of the fort. This mistake could not be remedied because it was discovered too late, after the guns had been mounted on the first story, that is to say, on the day before St. John's feast day. Besides, I was still ill with jaundice and could not have informed you then. That is why I take this opportunity of telling you about it now, as I believe it is my duty to do so.

He excuses himself on the ground that he had placed his framework on the first four stakes which the commandant had planted. But I told him that I believed he should have followed his own plan and therefore should have corrected the error before the work had gone so far ahead, because it is much more trouble now to tear it down than to go on building it. It is a square with four equal sides which will not have as good a line of fire as it should have had, had it retained its original shape, but under the circumstances, it seems to me an evil that cannot be remedied. They are putting on the roof and I hope they will be through covering it the twelfth of this month. As it has been raining for the last few days the work will be somewhat slowed down. In accordance with your orders I have asked Monsieur Djois and Don Antonio Palau whether it would be possible to cover the fort with tiles, slate, or cement. They told me they did not believe this to be necessary, and besides, none of these things is obtainable here.

The commandant of Mobile informs me that you have ordered him to purchase two large pirogues for the post; but he could not find any and had them made at the post.

I found out from a trader coming from the Chickasaws that they were informed by a Talapoosa messenger that thirty men from Mad Dog's village were out to kill some of their people and declare war on them to avenge the death of Mad Dog's nephew, whom the Chickasaws killed last year at the house of one Perry, a trader living with the Chickasaws. All the Talapoosa nation has let the Chickasaws know that they might kill all they could catch, and that their nation would not demand revenge. Then Ogoulayacabe himself came down the Tombigbee River to a distance of about twenty leagues above the fort, where it was found that three men had crossed over and were going to the Chickasaws. They were pursued but I have no news of the result as yet.

I have also found out that some Kickapoos, Totouis, Shawnees, and

<sup>203</sup> BL, (French).

Abenauquis had arrived lately among the Chickasaws, bringing messages of peace to them as well as to the Choctaws. While they were with Ogoulayacabe, talking and showing one another the glass bead collars of the other nations, some of which had been sent by the parents of those who had been killed by the Chickasaws last winter, and getting ready to discuss peace terms, there arrived among the Chickasaws at that moment two Choctaw parties, one from the village of the Abeka and the other from the village called Anchaoula. Ogoulayacabe proposed that they assist at the conference, but they refused under the excuse that they did not want to appear suspicious and went on. Whereupon the northern nations suspected some treason and said to the Chickasaws that they could see very well that they were their enemies and that consequently they would go away, which they did immediately. It is said that a party of them went to warn their nations and that the others are trailing the two Choctaw parties which cannot escape being destroyed, or at least so one presumes.

I received your last three letters dated the 4th and 14th of June last. I am pleased to see by one of them that you have made up your mind to send some rice to St. Etienne and that you have ordered me to send for it so that I may distribute it to the Indians when they come to the fort. Thereafter I hope that they will not pester me so much. Besides, in connection with your orders, when I saw the supply of corn getting low I sent Darbone's small boat to fetch me the corn I had bought from the Sieur Djois, as I told you in my previous letter. If it does not get too dry this summer, I expect and I hope this year to find among the various traders around this post at least one hundred minots of corn. I shall get the rest from the inhabitants of St. Etienne, which will be profitable for the King in view of the cost of shipping. Next year I hope that we shall be able to supply this product in ample quantities to fill the needs of the traders, the employees, and the troops.

Many chiefs came to the fort and, as you know, I have to give them supplies for their warriors, their women, their children, and themselves, and besides, have them at my table, as Monsieur Guilmar may have told you. This will come very high in the course of the year. However, I have done it all the time I have been in the nation at my own expense. Yet may I be so bold as to hope, now that things are on a different footing, that you will be so good as to consider my request, which I do not doubt you will find reasonable.

I beg you to send me your orders concerning the rations which I should give to the chiefs and what they are to be. Tell me whether it should be as at New Orleans and Mobile, because they always ask for bread, rice, and meat.

Seditious speeches are beginning to die down among the Choctaw

nation, although the warriors are still very impertinent. But this is caused by drink and it is not very feasible to deprive them of it. However, a rather timely threat made by one of our great medal chiefs named Totehouman, to kill all the animals of the traders living in that nation if Favre's animals at Tombeché were killed, has been sufficient to restrain them. The others are not saying anything and besides, I hope the food which we give them will cause them to think. I do not know where we are going to put the armourer. I suppose he ought to be lodged in the fort as is the surgeon. The fort is so small and the buildings so much one on top of the other that there is not much leeway for such lodgings. The oven touches the storehouse and without a chimney is likely to set fire to it whenever sparks fly from it. The storekeeper also asks for a lodging and requested me to speak to you about it.

I have also told you in one of my previous letters how necessary it was to have a shed for the Indians. The interpreter requested an apartment at the far end of it. I hope that you will be so kind as to let me know your disposition in this regard. As for the surgeon, Broutin told me that there were not any good ones at Mobile. If one could be found in the city, he would surely be better, according to what I am told, than the one whom I am to get.

Up to now the Choctaws have not discussed the death of the Texas Indian who was killed and scalped by seven Alibamons. In a few days I am going to visit them expressly for the purpose of finding out about it from a trader of the nation, a creole from Mobile called Chastan, who has spent at least six months wintering with the Choctaws. When he arrived here he did not speak to me about it, which makes me think that the Choctaws have had nothing to do with it.

As it is very cold here now and as the sentries ought to have capes, I beg you to give orders to send up four or five of them.

The officers also request candles, which I did not want to grant them without orders from you, although the Sieur Palau told me that they were given at Plamine. I shall wait for your orders on this matter, as well as for the candles, because there are none in the King's storehouse.

I have just been told that the remainder of the Talapoosa party had crossed the river about twelve leagues above the post. Some Choctaws who were hunting in that direction, reported that their dogs had barked all night. This worried them and as soon as it was daylight they went to investigate. They saw the grass crushed down and judged that many people had passed by there and were going in a north-westerly direction. This makes me presume that they want to reach the Cumberland road or attack the whites who live

in that country behind the Chickasaw villages, such as Perie Freger and some others.

God have you in his holy keeping.

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

FORT OF THE CONFEDERATION, *July 7, 1794.*

MONSIEUR THE BARON DE CARONDELET, governor general.

PORTELL TO CARONDELET

*July 15, 1794*<sup>204</sup>

No. 301

I enclose to Your Lordship the reply to the letter which I wrote to Major Doyle, commandant for the United States of the fort of Massac on the Ohio River. The militia officer who took my letter informs me that it looks as though the fort is to be a square with four bastions. The two which face the Ohio River are entirely finished. He saw no more artillery than that about which I have already informed Your Lordship. The garrison, as far as he saw at the hour of roll call, he believes consists of one hundred and ten men, including fifty militiamen who have come from Cumberland. Mr. Doyle told him that the garrison of the fort was to be two hundred and fifty men.

He saw Montgomery there and two captains of his party, Maquil-mori and Bert, who were at the mouth of the Cumberland last winter. There were also some of the French who deserted from here, and Montgomery told him at the table that he was expecting to make me a visit this coming autumn. To this the officer replied that he would be received according to his merit, which it seems gave Montgomery occasion to boast after the fashion of a raw recruit, but Mr. Doyle prudently restrained him. When they departed, Montgomery went as far as the landing with the officer from here and, apologizing politely to him, requested him to present me his compliments.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *July 15, 1794.*

TOMÁS PORTELL (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

## PITCHLYNN TO DELAVILLEBEUVRE

*July 16, 1794*<sup>205</sup>LUKEFAUTAH *July 16th 1794*

SIR: I arriv<sup>d</sup> Late Last night to my home from Cumberland Agreeable to my promis and at y<sup>r</sup>. Request I must Inform you that the mountain Leader with Seventeen Chickesaws is gone to Philadelphia, theay Satt of before I arrivd in Cumberland

2 Runners came with news ab<sup>t</sup>. the Creeks Gen<sup>l</sup>. Robinson paid no Regard too, but Shortly after came an Express from the Chickesaws sent by Glover and the head King Desireing the mountain Leader and all the Chickesaws to return to theere land which was sent off to Philadelphia after them.—

an Express arrive from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Wain whilst I was their Informing Gen<sup>l</sup>. Robinson that a Scouting party Detatchd from head Quarters had brought in 2 prisoners which gives an Account that four hundred British with artillery had joind 1500 Indians had joind them, others was Shortley Exspected to join; Wain Desireing Robinson to make it Known in his Department that on or abt. ye 15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. he Started with his army from Fort Jefferson on the Ohio against the Northward Indians. Desireing the assistance of all the young men to Join as Volunteers at that Time, with horse and gun asureing them that they should be paid to their satisfaction

Gen<sup>l</sup>. Robinson had just arrivd home from Knoxville where Goo<sup>r</sup>. Blount was to treat with the Cherokees the Countrey People Raizd and would not Suffer the Peace to be made Destroy'd and Burnt the goods which was to be given the Indians the white People have Suffered so much in these parts that theay go in Small parties and Kill and Scalp them bring in their horses &c Contrary to orders and cannot be stopt the Governor Conveyd them off privatly by archey Coady to Charleston in order to go to Congress to treat for Protection Robinson has taken great Pains to make Peace but when he left Knoxville the people that had relations killed by the Cherokees were greatly Dissturbd

2 Days before I arriv'd in Cumberland the Creeks Scalpt a white woman She was alive when I came away A party of light horse went out Did not come up with them that did it. but came up with a hunting Camp Killd one Brought in ten horses Destroyd their skins Pelted &c—5 days ago as I came through the Chickesaws a Report was raizd that Creeks was seen at Halkey wolfs friend Raizd 60 warriors and went to the place it provd false Wolfs Friend told me theay must come and take hair before he put warriors out

<sup>205</sup> BL, (English).

I Conclude with my Best Respects to m<sup>r</sup>. Jayne m<sup>r</sup>. Faor and am Sir with the Greatest Respect Your most Ob<sup>t</sup>. Most humble St.

JOHN PITCHLYNN

(Addressed :)

Lt. Coll. JN. DELLEVILBEUVRE ESQ<sup>R</sup>.

at Fort - Tumbigby

LE DRU TO THE GOVERNOR

*July 16, 179[4]* <sup>206</sup>

ST. LOUIS OF THE ILLINOIS, *16th of July, 179[torn]*

MY LORD: I have received the letter which you have done me the honor of sending me on the 30th of March last, and in which I learn with an inexpressible joy the agreeable and satisfactory means which you deign to employ to revive agriculture and commerce, under the aegis of the law, in a country where bribery and favoritism have up to now stifled their germs. Your Excellency can do nothing better than to allow to the prudent and ambitious speculator free play in his operations. It is the duty of the wise and enlightened business man to limit himself and his interests. Thus free trade, or rather the individual's opportunity to trade equally, deprives bribery of its odious power to triumph over the unfortunate ruins of an entire people who are then subjected to oppression and to the yoke of poverty.

The wisdom which you are employing, Sir, in rebuilding the church is certainly far beyond the plan which I myself had suggested for it. The freedom of trade in the Missouri rightfully upsets this project which had been put forward only because of the custom of the government of this place of making it an object of favor and commerce; but, My Lord, in the four years that the opportunities of the Missouri have been exploited by two people alone you must not be far from believing that every other merchant is in arrears with the capital. That is only to be justified by the slow remittances which the merchants of New Orleans receive from this district. For them the burden of reconstruction will be a hard one to bear; but, My Lord, if the immense sums disgorged by the Missouri, which was in the past closed to us, had figured here to lighten this burden, and if the wise and disinterested views of a chief loving his King and his people had collected these sums for the public use, that people would never stop singing the praises of those whom today it secretly damns. The energy of each individual, resembling today a weak sick man whom art and nature cannot cure except with time, would not be shaken to such a point of decadence that it is difficult to set it in motion again.

<sup>206</sup> BL, (French).



The Osages whom you propose, My Lord, to restrain, still require much care on your part for the sake of this country. The awful robberies which they commit against private people, devastating and stealing all their possessions, are forcing everybody to emigrate or to withdraw into the neighboring villages. There they are forced to stop their agricultural activities unless they wish to run the continuous risk of being robbed, ruined, and perhaps in case of resistance, losing their lives. I have been told that more than forty vigilant and laboring families who lived on the Maramek in Mr. De Cruzat's administration, have in spite of themselves quitted a country which hardly repaid the sweat of their brows. Consequently there remain only two there, who are forced to stay because of a large farming and manufacturing investment, and they feel that their lives are threatened every moment.

The kind of fort which you propose to build for them, in order to restrain the Osages, is very good, and would be still better if they were, as in the past, more gentle and less enlightened. However, the English who come across the lands bring them goods at a very low price, with the intention, doubtless, of being one day repaid for the sacrifices which they are making today by developing their trade with them successfully, and by obviating the necessity of their trading with us. Today there is a fine opportunity to subdue them by strong measures. If this is done, all the nations of the opposite bank may claim refuge on our side. The Americans repulse and drive them away vigorously. These immigrants would like nothing better than to push back in their turn other nations and to serve us as buffers against their raids.

My Lord, I hope that you will forgive these remarks, which are entirely useless to your enlightened mind. I should be less prolix if you were less considerate, and this goodness affects our hearts in a striking manner. As you give life to the most inanimate things you ought not to be surprised that the enthusiasm engendered in the breasts of every member of this colony by your noble work makes me waste so much of your precious time. But I am anxious to see the rebirth of the prosperity of a people in a country which I love, and thus I have given up the idea of resigning as soon as the successor which I had requested should have arrived. After witnessing with great anxiety the troubles of this colony, I want to have the pleasure of being the witness of the happiness which you are going to bestow upon it and to be able with everybody else to praise the Lord, and to tell you that as for myself I shall always seek to deserve the honor of your favor. It is with these sentiments that I have the honor of being, with respect, Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,

LE DRU    Miss: Curé (Rubric)

## PASTEUR TO THE SAQUES, FOXES, AND KASKASKIAS

*July 17, 1794*<sup>207</sup>

(Copy)

*The declaration of Capt. Thomas Pasteur Comd<sup>t</sup>. of Fort Knox to the Saques, Foxes and Kaskaskias Tribes of Indians, delivered at Vincennes 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1794.*

Brothers, I am happy that I have it in my power to inform you I have received an answer from my Fathers, great Warrior Gen. Wayne to the business done between you and myself the 20<sup>th</sup> & 22<sup>d</sup> ultimo, and with the greatest Satisfaction from that answer, I shall give you the following Information and advice, The information you my depend on to be Strictly true and the advice which my Fathers great Warrior Gen. Wayne has directed me to give you is calculated for your happyness which I hope you will Strictly adhere to as I wish you and your children to Escape the Vengence of my Fathers Arms—I shall first give you some information and then my advice. You must know my brothers that on the morning of the 30<sup>th</sup> Ultimo The combined Army of the hostile Indians endeavoured to destroy a few of my Fathers Warriors that lay near Fort Recovery which is built on the ground where Gen.. St. Clair faught them the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1791. This great Indian Army I firmly assure you was defeated on that and the next day by a handfull of Gen. Waynes Warriors and Compelled to retreat from the very ground where they once exercised their cruelty—with disgrace and great Slaughter on their Side, all the injury the great Indian Army could do to my Father, was by Stealing a few Horses that were feeding near the field of Action that morning before it took place. My Fathers Warriors lost a few drops of Blood in this Action, but they made the Enemy bleed freely for them—My Brothers I have thus given you the information that I have received from my Fathers great Warrior Gen.. Wayne, which I hope you will join me in thanking the Master of Life for.—

Now my Brothers open your ears and let your Hearts be clean that the advice I am about to give you may penetrate them and never be erased therefrom.—

Permit me my Brothers to congratulate you on your not listning to the bad Birds that have been among you & on your refusing the red Tomahawk the British and Spaniards have asked you to take up against your Father Gen.. Washington. let me exhort you to live in peace and friendship with my Father Gen. Washington and you will

<sup>207</sup> BL, (English).

at a future day have cause to rejoice that you did not join that part of your respective nations who have taken up the Hatchet against him, all those who have will most certainly experience the force of the Arms of my Fathers great Warrior Gen. Wayne who is now advancing to destroy all the Towns and Cornfields of the hostile Indians and to put to death all such as dare oppose his progress, believe me it will not be in the power of the British to protect them a fact that you and they will soon be convinced of.—

Your great and good Father Gen. Washington the President of the United States of America has Vested his great Warior Gen.. Wayne with full power to make Treaties of peace with all and every nation or Tribe of Indians who wish for it and to take them under the protection of the United States. Suffer me my Brothers as you regard the lives and Safety of your deluded friends and relations who have joined the bad Indians through the intrigues of the British and Spaniards to request that you immediately on your return send off runners to call them home without delay that they may escape the impendent blow that awaits them as soon as my Fathers great Warrior Gen. Wayne has Chastised the bad indians and made them Sensible of their Error, my Father Gen. Washington has Ordered him to the good Voice of peace and to pardon all his unruly Children who will come and ask for it. The great chief Warrior Gen. Wayne will then sound the glad Trumpet of peace so loud that it shall be heard by the most distant Indian Tribes, and at this time or any other untill that happy period arrives, he is ready to treat with any Nation of Indians who wish for peace and to fix that peace upon the Solid basis of Honor, equity and Justice so that it shall last as long as the wood growes and the Water runs.—

My Brothers I have given you the advice that will lead you to happiness if you take it and I have cautioned you against the consequences that will attend the resistances of my father. I can give you no more at present for I think of none that would be of service to you.—

Remember my Father that he is and will be yours. My Brothers my Fathers great Warrior Gen. Wayne had directed me to give you some goods. I have in my possession and agreeable to his Order here you see them; take them such as they are for the present and be satisfied with them, you may depend on receiving a better supply as soon as they come from philadelphia which the great Warrior Gen. Wayne assures me shall be as soon as possible.—

I must now my Brothers conclude with wishing you enlightned so that you may Spend the remainder of your days in peace and

happiness and when you depart this life you may leave your children in the same good path I have marked out for you.—

(Signed)

THOMAS PASTEUR

Cap<sup>t</sup> of the 1st Sub. Legion,  
Comman<sup>d</sup> Fort Knox.

I certify that this is a copy of the original which was delivered to me by an Indian chief of the Saquias nation.

St. Louis, 8th of August, 1794.

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

CARONDELET TO PORTELL

*July 20, 1794*<sup>208</sup>

We learn through the public papers of the United States that it has been proposed to Congress to place the establishment of a new republic at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers situated in the dominions of the King and that a beginning should be made of it in the early part of September. The first party of settlers for its establishment may consist of 18,000 souls. It is not at all probable that Congress will approve it, nor that the necessary funds for the enterprise will be found so soon. Nevertheless, if the Americans attempt to send people by way of the Ohio to our district you will let them know that you have an order to oppose their attempt. If they, notwithstanding this, persist in putting their plan in effect, you will oppose it as well as you can with all the Indians of our party and the militia, never leaving the fort without sufficient strength to resist any unexpected attack. The galley, with a well-armed launch, can also harrass them at the moment when they attempt to cross the river.

Since there are only sixty-six men in the detachment which has been established in the old Cherokee fort, I do not consider it necessary to maintain the militia constantly in readiness; but I do think that service must be kept up in the fort with the greatest vigilance by the sixty men of the fixed regiment who constitute the garrison, counting with those the twenty sent by the lieutenant governor of Ylinoa. If these last have gone back to St. Louis, you will complete the garrison with selected militiamen up to the number mentioned of sixty soldiers, during the time that the American detachment maintains itself at the same force of sixty to one hundred men. However, if it is increased to exceed the last number, you will increase that of the garrison in the same proportion, that is, by twenty men for each hundred added to that of the American fort.

or any force which advances on the Ohio or the Mississippi up to thirty leagues or less from the fort of New Madrid.

For the greater security of this fort against any surprise, which the Americans will doubtless attempt if the commandant of their fort receives the declaration of war before you, you will order Don Francisco Langlois on my authority to limit his cruising station to the Ohio and New Madrid. In this manner he would never be exposed to descend below the fort; but if the galley is anchored below the fort, you should send forward by night a launch or barge sufficiently armed to prevent any surprise.

If in conformity with my instructions the lieutenant governor of Ylinoa should have to retreat to New Madrid with his troops, he will take command of the fort, as he is the senior in rank, and you will remain as his second. You will both make every effort for the defence of the fort, which I am determined to hold against the American army until the last extremity. I would not have done this against the French bandits, in order not to expose our troops to their outrages and cruelties, which are not to be feared on the part of a well ordered army, as will be that of the United States in this case. By virtue of this new order the official letter which I directed to you on the 2nd of this year relative to the defence of the fort in your command is annulled and without any force, and is not to govern your conduct except in case you are threatened by a body of French entirely separated from the American army.

Try to keep the fort of New Madrid always supplied with provisions for two hundred men for two months at least, and go on strengthening its defences as far as is feasible without too much expense for materials: That is, by raising some earthworks on the exterior which will keep the enemy off at the beginning; by making ditches and works on the flanks which will serve as obstacles to their approach; or by strengthening the parapets now existing in order to put them in a state to resist the enemy artillery. An expert and trained officer finds a thousand resources in the locality, in the surroundings, in the waters, etc., to defend himself, and, while he is looking for men, land, and utilities, means are never lacking to him for covering himself. I am convinced, by the reputation which you have enjoyed up to now, that in case you are attacked you will know how to cover yourself with glory and make the arms of the King and the Spanish nation respected by their enemies and their allies.

God etc.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 20, 1794.*

[Draft by CARONDELET]

Señor DON TOMÁS PORTELL.

BOUNDARIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE  
LANDS OF THE CHICKASAWS<sup>209</sup>

*July 21, 1794*

*A True Copy of the Limits of the Chickasaws Lands Granted them by America*

George Washington President of the United States of America,  
To all to whom these Presents shall come . . .

Know ye, that the Nation of Indians called Chickasaws, inhabiting the District of the Country herein described to wit. Beginning on the Ohio at the Ridge which divides the waters of Tennessee and Cumberland and extends with that Ridge eastwardly as far as the most eastern watters of Elk River, Thence to the Tennessee at old field where a part of the Chickasaws formerly lived; this line to be so run as include all the waters of Elk River, Thence across the Tennessee and a neck of Land to Tenchacunda Creek, a South branch of the Tennessee and up the same to its source then to the Waters of Tombigby, that is to the West fork of Longleaf pine Creek and down it to the Line of the Chickasaws and Chactaws a little below the Trading path, Thence with the Chactaw line to Missisipi River so as to include an old field above the Tanoco old fields, Thence up the Missisipi to the mouth of the Ohio and up the Ohio to the beginning.

And the Towns, Villages and Lands of the same Community are in their Persons, Towns, Villages, lands, hunting grounds and other rights and property in the peace and under the protection of the United States of America and all persons, citizens of the United States are hereby warned not to commit any injury, trespass or molestation whatever on the persons, Lands, hunting grounds, or other rights or property of the said Indians, and they and all others are in like manner forbidden to purchase, accept, agree or treat for, with said Indians, directly or indirectly, the tittle or occupation of any Lands held or claimed by them; and I do hereby call upon all persons in authority under the United States & Citizens thereof in their several Capacities to be aiding and assisting to the prosecution and punishment according to Law of all persons who shall be found offending in the premises.

Given under my hand & Seal of the United States, this Twenty first day of July in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & Ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Nineteenth

G<sup>O</sup>. WASHINGTON

By the President of the United States of America

EDM RANDOLPH,

*Secretary of State*

Chickasaws to the Spaniards

<sup>209</sup> BL, (English)

## DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*July 22, 1794*<sup>210</sup>

No. 16.

I left the fort to get to the nation on the eighteenth of this month for the purpose of finding out whether it was true that the Choctaws had threatened to destroy the chief of the Pascagoula and his nation, as the commandant of Natchitoches, the Sieur de Blanc, informed the governor of Natchez, Don Manuel de Gayoso. The latter by an official letter, orders me to inform him about it by special messenger.

I am therefore telling him that there is no truth in it, that these were only idle remarks passed while drinking together, and that the Choctaws had forgotten all about it the next day. I also ascertained, as you ordered me, whether it was true that the Choctaws had promised the Alibamons to side with them against the Texas nations should these latter use reprisals against the former. They told me that they did not know anything about it. I cannot help believing that these smaller nations are using the name of the Choctaws to scare the others. The Choctaws are rather quiet at present, especially since we have been giving them food at the fort. They have stopped grumbling but they still annoy me for ammunition and the little trifles which we used to give them in the past. To date I have given them but little because I am not authorized by your orders, but there have been cases when I had to give in because of what they were saying and threatening to do. I was even afraid that they might be opposed to the establishment of a fort, as some of them would have liked to have been. Therefore I hope that you will be so kind as to give me your orders in this connection.

The Little Chief is leaving for Mobile to get his present because his mourning period is about to end. His conduct has been good lately in regard to the statements recently made in the nation. He, the chief of the Anchaoula, Nanhoulimastabe, and one Totehouman from the village of the Yasou have prevented the animals of the fort from being killed. They threatened to harm the others if they did it. I recommend the Little Chief to Mr. de Lanzos.

I have just received a letter from Jean Pechlin which I am forwarding you with mine. It will inform you of what is going on among the Chickasaws and at Cumberland better than I could do myself. He is a trustworthy man, although young as you see. He is behaving well and has won over the confidence of the Indians in this nation. I have also just received a letter of Benjamin Fooy from the Chickasaws. He tells me that the Americans have come

<sup>210</sup> BL, (French).

down the Ohio River with boats loaded with stakes and that during the night they planted them at the mouth of the Cherokee River where the old French fort used to be. He says that the Chickasaw hunters who were with them reported this. They say that the fort was finished during the night but I find it hard to believe. However, we must presume that, in any case, they will finish it. Their purpose is doubtless to prevent the Cherokees from receiving any help.

You have without doubt heard of the injury done to the Sieur Chastan, inhabitant of Mobile, by over one hundred Alibamons who shot his Negro, killed some of his cattle and all of his poultry, and are said to be threatening to prevent the settlement at Tombecbé. As for this last threat, they are not to be feared except in connection with the boats, because the fort is finished. Besides, I think that this is all due to drink. They will have forgotten everything upon awakening. It is not possible any longer to deprive either them or the Choctaws of drink. The Choctaw chiefs ask me for it all the time. I must beg you to be so kind as to order liquor to be sent to the fort. This is about the cheapest thing we can give them.

I can do no less than to point out to you once again how much inconvenience there is in giving commissions at Mobile to the traders of the Choctaw nation to trade in various villages. They have discussions every day amongst themselves because the commandant of Mobile cannot possibly know whether the village for which the commission is asked is free or not. He gives it to anyone who asks him for it without knowing whether he is entitled to it, so that dishonest traders often try to displace those more honest than themselves to whom the Indians often owe four or five hundred skins. The result is that once the permission is granted, these poor fellows must lose everything. This already happened several times, and as you see, it is very hard on them. Since my arrival several of them have complained to me but the others present their commissions to me and I am unable to settle anything. It would seem to me more natural that I, who am residing at or near this nation, should give them these commissions, as the English commissioners used to do. This would prevent all disputes and I would have a first-hand knowledge as to who was right and who was wrong. I beg you to give me your orders on this matter and I shall abide by them.

I have asked whether Bichers had given to Franchemastabe on your behalf the quart of salt, the two pounds of sugar, and the twelve and a half pounds of coffee, as you informed me. He has received none of these things and Bichers tells me that they only



wanted to give him six pounds of salt and only a little sugar and coffee. Therefore he refused to take anything, even food supplies.

God have you in his holy keeping.

BOUKFOUKA, *July 22, 1794.*

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

Monsieur the BARON DE CARONDELET, governor general.

CÓRDOBA TO CARONDELET

*July 26, 1794*<sup>211</sup>

*Señor Governor*

COLONEL BARON DE CARONDELET: Being in command of this town of Nacogdoches, bordering on that province under command of Your Lordship, I have observed that the insolent behavior of some of the Indian nations, our enemies, is the result of their being well-supplied with munitions, which they obtain exclusively through some individuals in that province. I thought it right to inform my governor, Señor Don Manuel Muñoz, of the many injuries that the aforesaid individuals are inflicting upon this province of Texas. His Lordship, notwithstanding that he has taken the required measures, orders me to inform Your Lordship of all that is necessary for a prompt remedy.

One of the most warlike nations, and one which has caused the greatest injury to this province, is that of the Apaches, and the only place where they find some shelter is at the post of Opelousas, dependent upon that province in charge of Your Lordship. The proof of this is that last year the Bidais Indians brought me a passport which an inhabitant of the aforesaid post called De Beorde gave them and which reads thus: "Having written to the governor, on petition of the Attacapas Indians, for the purpose of soliciting the peace which the latter desire with the Apache Indians, who also have asked for it, the governor replied to me that it might properly be given to them and they might be regarded as brothers. For this purpose four chiefs are going to Arcoquisa to offer them peace." With this motive the Attacapas Indians brought thirty-five guns with their corresponding powder and ball. The aforesaid chiefs gave the passport to the Bidais Indians, and the latter came to present it to me. I regret very much not being able to send the original passport to Your Lordship, for I had the misfortune to mislay it. If I am fortunate enough to find it again I shall send it to Your Lordship at the first opportunity.

I am also informed by several persons worthy of belief that there is now in one of the most populous nations which belong to this

<sup>211</sup> BL.

province of Texas, called La Tagauallas, a French trader, resident of the post of Natchitoches, named Tona. I am told that he, in the trade that he carried on, is buying from a certain party some mules and horses which were stolen a few days ago by the Indians of the nation mentioned on the banks of the Bejar from the various citizens of this post, and from some soldiers escorting them. I consider it highly necessary for the peace of this province that this trader, as well as others who are in the habit of introducing themselves into this province, shall be prevented from entering. This can only be accomplished through the orders of Your Lordship, issued to the commandant of Natchitoches and Opelusas, and the execution by Your Lordship of some other measures to prevent entirely the entrance of such persons among the nations of Indians pertaining to this province.

May God preserve the life of Your Lordship many years.

NACOGDOCHES, *July 26, 1794.*

CHRISTÓBAL DE CÓRDOBA (Rubric)

P. S. I am sending to Your Lordship the enclosed letter from my governor, Señor Don Manuel Muños.

GAYOSO DE LEMOS TO INNES

*July 27, 1794* <sup>212</sup>

NATCHEZ, *27<sup>th</sup> July 1794*

SIR: The frequent commerce between that Country and this has afforded me several opportunities of being honoured with a line of recommendation from you in favour of some of your friends that have made this voyage, and in return I have always been anxious to show the distinguished value that I set on your correspondence, but my ambition extending beyond a common intercourse of general terms of idle friendship, I wish from this moment to lay the foundation of the most interesting subject that can make our connexion worthy of generous sentiments, complying thereby with that duty which God has allotted to those who by making a proper use of his Divine gifts have arrived to a distinguished Station in Life.

What can better occupy our attention than the welfare of the Countries we live in? I have heard & I have seen in Your Public Papers the sentiments of the People of the Western Country, and it is this many years, even before I left Europe, that I am informed of the favourite wish of the Navigation of this River in which Your People have founded their happiness. I am sure that if a proper Negotiation had been established, our Court would have agreed on terms favour-

<sup>212</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

able to that Country; but what can you expect when such a business never was promoted properly; perhaps it was once agitated but never pursued with regularity, nothing then could result. The officiousness of one single person is not sufficient authority to forward an affair of such a magnitude, if not supported by the unanimous voice of the Country acknowledged by their consent in a authentic manner. The good understanding subsisting between our Court & that of the United States will not allow us to enter publicly into such a Negotiation with any particular State of the Union, but if that State was once separate and become independent, then without interfering with our engagements with the General Body, we could answer the views of the part detached.

For the present, the Navigation of the Missisipi is the affair of our reciprocal Courts, but if once you were separate from the Union. Deputies from your Country might treat with us on that important subject & that of the most intimate permanent reciprocal & beneficial Alliance.

I do not see the least inconveniency in it, the path is straight & open; I already see your people disposed to it & what is still more, is that the Eastern States will see it with indifference if not with pleasure, for then they will be at no expense in supporting Armies against the Indians, wether it be to protect the Western People or to defend the Lands of Congress; besides, what revenue does the Western Country contribute with towards the Union? Hardly any. the taxes are never collected, and the proposal of them only serves to alienate one people from the other.

I do not mean that untill your Independancy takes place we should lay aside all thoughts of entering into a Negotiation; we may begin now by planing out the foundation of our future happiness. You have friends & perhaps to some you will communicate my sentiments on the Subject; join then in a private body; begin to sound the minds of the people, influence on them to keep quiet and to depend on your exertions, with assurances of success & that not far off, if the business is carried on with earnestness.

Acquaint us with your proceedings; by the means of regular and uninterrupted correspondence; when things are come to an estate of maturity, push on the grand object of your Independancy & when you have a Convension, send Commissioners properly authorized to treat the business with us in a more positive manner, tho' still reserved to the public. In the mean while our private negotiation will be sanctioned by our Court so that the conclusion will be soon terminated. In the present estate of affairs I do not see the difficulty of bringing them to a conclusion in space of one year, except Congress was to differ or put some obstacle to your Independency, what I cannot forse if you are determined to it.

If the proposed Navigation takes place, I even assure you that from the begining of that happy epoch a very particullar indulgence will be shown to the Inhabitants of the Western Country trading down this River, indeed now they have no matter of complaint except that of the duties being too heavy & it is in that, that I mean our immediate indulgence; as for freedom, never was a people more free in the World than the Spanish Subjects, nor more generous & hospitable or stronger than we are.

There are just arrived in this Country two Gentlemen from your Quarter of the World, one Mr. Collins & the other Mr. Owen, the latter tells me that he is your particular friend & wishes to be the bearer of my letters to you, but I shall only give him an ostensive one & this I send by a sure opportunity to the Commandant of New Madrid & in a few days more will send a duplicate by Mr. Ferguson an officer of our Militia and a man of trust. These Gentlemen have been recommended to the Governor of New Orleans & to me by a person of our acquaintance; they & and their recommendation expresses the same sentiments with the contents of this Letter, however I am doubtfull of their sincerity, for I have just now been informed by a Whoman that came down with them that they are commissioned by Gen<sup>l</sup> Waine to examine our Situation; should this prove true it would very much injure our Negociation, and therefore as soon as you receive this dispatch some trusty person (whom I'll **pay according to your agreement**) with your answer to me with **the information if Mr. Owen is your friend or not**, this will be sufficient for me to form my judgement. By the same conveyance you may express your sentiments at large, sure of meeting in me the warmest & friendly reception.

Enclosed I propose to you a Cipher, which may be improved & by this means we may continue our correspondence with safety. When I write in cipher I make my particullar study to be plain & concise to avoid useless labour.

The pleasure of opening with you a commerce of this nature flatters me exceedingly. Without being personally acquainted with you I have a particular esteem & regard for you & I shall be happy if it is in my power to give you proofs of the sincere friendship with which I remain &c.

It is a copy

GAYOSO (Rubric)

From the Governor of Natchez to the Honourable HARRY INNES

PETITION FROM AMERICAN INHABITANTS OF RAPIDE POST TO  
GOVERNOR CARONDELET

*August 10, 1794*<sup>213</sup>

*To His Excellency BARON DECARON DULA Commander in Chief over  
the Province of Louisiana.*

We your Humble Pettetioners of the Rapide Post Humbly sheweth,  
That your Petitioners living in a thick settled part of the Post and  
having a Number of Cattle, findeth it too Strait and Inconvenient  
for us to keep our Cattle in it, have therefore searched out a Con-  
venient place for that Purpose, about ten Leagues from the Rapide,  
over the Cataholah Lake and has applied to our Commandant Mr.  
Valentine Laissard for leave to Settle it but he will give no one Leave  
to Settle in that Quarter. We your Humble Petitioners therefore  
Hopes that Your Excellency will be pleased to let us settle it, for  
which we the subscribers Your Humble Petitioners Shall Ever Pray

Dated *August 10<sup>th</sup> 1794*

*Subscribers Names*

BENJ. GRUBB	SAMUEL GRAY	ISAACK ASBAL
GEORGE PAUL	MICHAEL HOOTER	JACOB HOOTER
PETER FOGERTY	REUBEN WHITE	JOSEPH HOOTER
RICHARD EARL	ROBERT WILLSON	PHILLIP HOOTER
ISAACK FRAZAR	JN <sup>O</sup> . BURNEY	JAMES WHITE
NICHOLE LEAVENS	MARK POWEL	PIERRE ROBERT
JOHN FOWLAR	LOUT HOOTER	WILLIAM BROWN

[List attached to the preceding petition:]

BENJ GRUBB	GABRIEL MARTIN
WM BROWN	RICHARD EARL
NICHOLAS LEAVENS	SAM <sup>L</sup> MORRIS
REUBEN WHITE	JAMES WHITE
GEORGE PAUL	

List of the Americans who have persisted in establishing them-  
selves over the Catahulú. Signed the 19th day of July, 1795.

DE BLANC (Rubric)

TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*August 12, 1794*<sup>214</sup>

No. 193

Since the military commandant of the post of Vincennes, during  
the alarm on the Ohio, had sent collars and called the different Indian

<sup>213</sup> BL, (English).

<sup>214</sup> BL.

nations which I have had under my authority, I have wished to clear up the motives of the continued solicitations of that commandant. With that purpose I engaged a chief of the Sauks, a confidential agent of mine, to make this journey, which he did with thirty men of his nation. After being detained many days, he was at last despatched with a writing, the contents of which conform to the copy I enclose. I returned the writing to him so that he might take it to the English of Michillimackinac, as he had asked me to do, and as I believe best under the present circumstances.

These Indians also received gifts, but I cannot set a value on the present which was given them and which they have taken to their nation.

Yesterday a private citizen of Cahokia (American district) received a letter from the same post of Vincennes. He is informed that a certain Gray,<sup>215</sup> sent by Congress to the court of London on political affairs of the time, has returned with full and entire satisfaction from that court in regard to the boundaries set by the treaty of peace of the year 1783, prizes newly taken on the sea, and ships obtained in the ports.

It is also said that General Wayne has made progress against the Indians, of whom some three hundred have been killed in different encounters. I cannot confirm this news for you, for there is but one letter (which I have not seen) that relates it, and whatever I have heard through the post of Vincennes has always turned out to be false.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

ST. LOUIS, *August 12, 1794.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

BARON DE CARONDELET.

McDONALD TO WHITE

*August 17, 1794*<sup>216</sup>

CHEROKEES, *August 17th 1794.*

*His Excellency* GOVERNOR WHITE

SIR In my letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> July I enformed you it was the determination of the lower town Cherokees to start with the little Turkey to Pensacola in twenty days from the date of that letter—The Turkey or any of them are now prevented from going till the reestablishment of the former good understanding can be restored

<sup>215</sup> Jay.

<sup>216</sup> BL, (English).

between the two nations—Creeks & Cherokees—Probably what have happened will not terminate in a National quarrel, but I much dread the consequence, considering how easy red people are liable to be envolved, when things comes to such ahead—The leading events to the present affair, are as follows, and your Excellency no doubt knows it. It has been the conduct of the Creeks for some years past to carry on their predatory War against the settlements adjoining to the Cherokees, with most vigour. When the cherokees were most peaceably disposed The Creeks were the first to envolve this nation after the Treaty of Holston—They were the first who proseed peace last winter when the Cherokees were engaged in the hight of their warfair; and it was through their influence party of these people were induced to go to Congress, who went under the Idea of Joining them at a certain place agreeable to appointment. They now find this nation are inclined to be quiet agreeable to the advice of the Governor-General, are for renewing, and the continuing the War—Generally pass through the heart of this Nation, and direct their course towards that part of the settlements adjoining to the old Towns, Where the Hangingmaw and several Indians Still lives, whatever mischief is don, this Nation seems to bear the blame of it, and often Suffer—Governor Blount, tells them plainly no discrimination is intended to be made infuture, and says he considers the Cherokees as guilty as the Creeks while they Suffer them to pass through their Country—In these war excursions they frequently kill cattle, Hogs, and Steal Indian. and Traders horses. This agravating conduct of the creeks, have at length brought about What I have long dreaded, and have enduced the Hangingmaw; through the Illusive promises & pay of Governor Blount to seize on a Creek that happened to be among them, ty'd him, and delivered him up to the whites who put the fellow to death—Since that the old Maws party discovered a trail of eight Creeks, bareing to the Settlements—persued and came up to them, within half a mile of where they entended to take scalps, an action emmedately to took place, between the parties,—one Creek was Killed and two wounded—The old Maw's party composes of about 70 fellows that have Joined Gov<sup>r</sup> Blount—and I am told he intends to persist in killing all the creeks he can come at if they pass through his quarters, or even his own people if they transgress—The Nation in general particularly the lower part of it, are much provoked at the conduct of the Maw—The Sense of the Nation are entirely against engaging in a war with the Creeks or against any red people whatever, if it can be avoided—if the second affair had not happened Satisfaction would have been given for the first—I can form no Idea Just now how the affair will end; but I am afraid

if the two Nations should enadvertantly engage, it will end in the ruin of both—to prevent Which I will use my best endeavours, War between So near neighbours will not only be ruinous to themselves, but to the Whites residing among them particularly. I Know not what to say with respect to the Indians at Pensacola—probably it would be as well, if not better, to Store up the Goods they have got in hand, except such part of them as they can will bring away, this is the opinion of the head men here, it is not known When they can be brought away as no Indians Will go down till the present affair are made up—I daily and hourly expect to hear fresh disaster happening, either to the one party or the Other—Considering the precarious situation of the loyal part of this nation and myself together, (being according to the Indian phrase placed between two fires) I have it in contemplation to move out the way with part of them—down some where about the mouth of Ohio would be the place, probably above it on the Mississippia. I have no doubt of taking two or three hundred of them off at once when most of the rest would quickly follow—I think by so doing and placing aparty of warlike and well affected Indians near the out Garrisons would not be rendering a bad piece of services—please to communicate my Ideas to the Governor General, as I should be happy to know his Sentiments upon the Subject before I started—In the meantime pray let know your own opinion, I am heartily weary of my present place of abode and in case of my removal, I have Nodoubt of having it in my power to render Government more assential Services than I can possibly perform by continuing here especially under the present aspect. By the loyal part of the Nation, I mean, those, that continued friendly to the English during the late American War and who have since thrown themselves, under the protection of his Catholick Majesty—they compose the lower part of the nation, and comprehends nine towns including Villages, Viz. Turnip Mountain town, TurkiesTown, or new Seneca—Wills Town—Lookout Mountain—Chickamoga, but now the Runing Water, Necojackie, Long Island—Craw & Wassatie the last five are Situated on the Cherokee or Tennessie River—great part of those would readily move where ever I thought proper to go—the Nation composes of Several other Towns and Some of them populas but cannot pretend to enclude them on this list—they being more variable in their dispossions and generally attached the other way The Bearor of this is Cheelagiskie a creek Warrior residing in this Nation—Should anything occur he will be a good hand to deliver me your commands I told him your Excellency would order him Somthing as a reward for his honesty in delivering this Safe—which I beg you will do if it should be taken out the goods in possession of the Indians



With every Sentiment of Esteem I have the honour to remain  
Sir your Excellencys, Most obt. & most humble Servant

JN<sup>o</sup>. McDONALD (Rubric)

(Addressed:)

His Excellency GOVERNOR WHITE, PENSACOLA

By Cheelagiskie

DORCHESTER TO CARONDELET

*August 21, 1794*<sup>217</sup>

MONTREAL *August 21, 1794*

SIR: Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Todd McGill & C<sup>o</sup>. and Forsyth Richardson Merchants of the first Consideration and respectability residing in Canada have represented to me that some of their correspondents Traders on the River Mississippi, have been despoiled of their property imprisoned and otherwise ill treated by Persons acting under the Authority of the Officer Commanding at St. Louis on that River, tho' at the time they and their property were seized, they were One Hundred Miles above any of the Posts occupied by the Troops or Subjects of Spain.

From the good understanding at present subsisting and which I hope will long continue between His Most Catholic Majesty and the King of Great Britain I have reason to believe that these transactions have taken place without the Authority or Knowledge of Your Excellency. I have therefore thought it proper to communicate the same for your information, and to acquaint your Excellency that the immediate and eventual Sufferers by these Seizures are British Subjects, trading under the protection of His Britannic Majesty's provinces in America over which I have the honor to preside. I have not thought it necessary to make the Application through the medium of the Courts to which we respectively belong, not doubting that Your Excellency on being Ascertained of the Facts and Statements of Accounts which will be spread before you, will cause full retribution to be made to the Sufferers conformably to that Spirit of Justice and Honor which has at all times distinguished the Administration of the Governments of His Most Catholic Majesty.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humble Servant

DORCHESTER

His Excellency The BARON DE CARONDELET

Lieut. General of the Armies of His Most Catholic Majesty  
Governor of Louisiana and its Dependencies &c. &c. &c.

<sup>217</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

McDONALD TO WHITE

*August 30, 1794*<sup>218</sup>CHEROKEES *August 30th 1794*—*His Excellency Governor WHITE*

SIR: I have wrote you the 17th Instant p<sup>r</sup>. Cheelageskie thinking (as he enformed me) he would start immediately, but by some reason or other, have delay'd till now, he will now hand you this—Cottehatoye arrived yesterday at my house, and delivered me your Excellencys letter of the 11th Instant as well as duplicate of a talk to the Nation, which I immediately explained to a number of chiefs then present—at the first general meeting I will again explain it—If my health permits I intend visit Pensacola this fall. I mean too if the path is open. When I will give you a particular statement of the different Townships in the nation or at least as much so as the scattered situation of the Nation will admit of, but it is probable, when I have the pleasure of seeing you, your enquirey to this effect will not much extend beyond the Towns I mentioned in my letter of the 17th— If I seemed not to wish to charge myself with the trouble of distributing the presents to the Indians, it was, on this present occasion only, and if I have not been explicit enough in my last upon this head, it was, because I foresaw my assistance in deviding them would not be required when once the Indians got them into their own hands. The mode your Excellency means to adadopt in distributing them in future is very proper, and is What I intended to have proposed—I should have thought it no trouble to have gone althe way to Pensacola to devide them—It is there they ought to be devided in future, sence the Indians will not do their own business, by bringing them up for a general distribution, and it is there only I could devide them in amanner that would occasion alittle or no murmur—Owholeata arrived in the Turkies Town last night, but from the report of Cottehatoy and others I dont expect either me or the headmen will be able to do much with him great many of the goods he squandered away both at camp and on his Journey, and the rest he devided among his party—salt was discovered in heaps on the path, that he throwd away—this is the report of Cottehatoye I will know better in a day or two, and do the best I can to get them from him for the benefit of others more deserving.

The Indians who went to Congress are (I expect) by this time arrived on the frontier of South Carolina—their Interpreter Jack Thompson have wrote from Philadelphia, that, they have got between seven and ten thousand dollars worth of goods—all the old and young warriors of the Nation are pressingly envited down to Seneca

<sup>218</sup> BL, (English).

to ratify (no doubt) the agreement the party have made, what it is I know not as yet— The result of the deliberations of the upper Creeks respecting the two men they lost by means of the upper Town Cherokees are not as yet known, till it is, people from this country, traders or others, do not conceive it altogether safe to travel to Pensacola—as the bearer is a native Creek, he will be able to learn their determination before he gets down, and can enform you— Should anything occur worth communicating I will take the earliest opportunity of doing it With sincerity I remain Sir your Exceley Most Ob<sup>t</sup> Hu<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

JN<sup>O</sup> McDONALD

PS I have taken the liberty in my letters of the 17th to recommend the bearer so fare into favour as to order him some trifles as areward for his honesty if he delivered my communication Safe— Sence nothing remains of the Cherokee goods execept Brandy, salt & Ammunition; alittle of it, will be sufficient.

J M D

BURGESS TO THE GOVERNOR

*September 13, 1794*<sup>219</sup>

No. 2. Copy

FLINT RIVER, *September 13, 1794*

SIR: I received your letter safely by the Indian Semothly, and I am pleased to see your good intentions in favor of your obedient servant, and your kind wishes for the Indians.

Your Excellency was pleased to write me that I should go to see you with some Indians of this nation. This I intend to do, and I can collect the chiefs in my neighborhood at any time. However, when I considered the matter, I thought it might cause some jealousy among them and those of the upper towns; and furthermore, I thought that with three or four chiefs from each of the lower towns the effect would be better.

I wrote to the upper towns in regard to this matter, and Your Lordship will see by the letter from them to me the reason why they cannot come at this time; and you will see their talks in full. This letter I enclose in mine to Your Excellency, and I shall send it first to the Señor Commandant of St. Marks, so that he may read the talks and make himself acquainted with their contents, and then forward them to Your Excellency as soon as possible by a safe hand. These people hope to see Your Excellency's reply to me with all possible speed.

I desire for the Creek and Spanish nations long peace and happiness. I am your obedient and humble servant.

DIEGO BURGES

(This is a copy of the original translation by Don Robert Leslie)

VEGAS (Rubric)

DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*September 14, 1794*<sup>220</sup>

A small medal chief called Clatonoche has just arrived after fighting the Kickapoos. He has told me that he passed by eleven American forts which were continuously repulsing the attacks of the northern Indians. He says that the Indians are killing many Americans and that the approaches of the forts are filled with dead corpses which infect the air. He stated that on his way back he entered one of these forts and the white men wanted to give him a present which he did not want to accept. He told them that he had come to wage war on his enemies and not to seek presents which the Spanish gave him whenever he went to see them. This sort of conduct pleased me so much that I made a present to him and also to his twenty-five warriors. I gave him four white blankets, twelve pairs of pants, fifteen pounds of powder, some knives, worm-screws, and combs. He is a determined sort of man who is likely to be useful to us.

As for the artillery equipment which you have ordered to be sent here, we lack the wherewithal to spike the guns in case we should have to, but I hope we will not have to. However, I think there ought to be some in all the posts. Winter will soon be on us. I think that the Talapoosas and the Alibamons are going to start their usual trouble because they have already stolen two horses belonging to Favre and I believe one of mine which cost me fifty piastres. I cannot locate it anywhere, so here I am without a horse. I shall be very much put out when I have to go into the nation.

There is nothing new in the nation up to now. All I am afraid of is the arrival of Payemingo with presents from the Americans. This will probably have a bad effect. I am told that the Americans intend to bring them down to the Ecores à Margot, and as the Indians of that nation almost always go hunting in that direction, they will surely go and fetch them there. They have already asked me several times whether the blankets which we were going to give them in addition to their presents had come or were on their way. I did not know what to answer although you had spoken to me

<sup>220</sup> BL, (French).

about it in the city before I left. I did not say anything to them. I do not know where they heard about it, but as Mr. Lanzos recently sent the blankets and the Limburg cloth which you gave me, and Mingopouscouche came back from Mobile in the same boat, he must have told it to all the Indians when he returned, with the result that they are annoying me. I keep telling them that they are intended as remuneration for the messengers, but they do not want to believe me and they say that I am deceiving them. This is about all the news for the time being.

The Americans are still telling the Choctaws that they are friends of ours and that was the reason why they settled at Fort Cherokee, but I am tempted to believe that we should distrust their friendship which might become a burden to us. For my part I shall not be negligent and shall spy on their conduct, and I shall inform you immediately of everything which I may learn from that quarter.

God have you in His holy keeping.

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

FORT CONFEDERATION, *September 14, 1794.*

M. LE BARON DE CARONDELET, *Governor General.*

VILLIERS TO WHITE

*September 16, 1794*<sup>221</sup>

SIR: I have received the honor of your letter dated the 27th of August in reply to the one which I had written you through the chief of Cloaly. I know they are dissatisfied as are all those who are returning from Pensacola. The Indians of the village of Tukibatché say that you have mistreated them, and they have made some very harsh speeches concerning this matter. They have wished to revenge themselves on me to the point of saying that they wanted to kill me. All this did not prevent me from going to their village, where an assembly took place. I told them what I had to say to them according to the latest orders of my chiefs. They were then satisfied with this message. After that letters from the United States were read to them concerning the peace which had been concluded and the demands that the Indians give back the Negroes and horses which they have taken. Unless they do that, the Americans will not withdraw from the settlements which they have made on the Oconee. It was also stated that the Americans desire to make peace with the Creeks, and the latter could have goods at a very low cost. All this caused a new revolution in the nation. These messages were not accepted by the majority of the nation. Old

<sup>221</sup> BL, (French).

Cornel is up to his usual tricks. Mad Dog told me that he did not believe these people and that you had not deceived them as badly as they said. I have the honor of being, with respect, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

LE CH<sup>v</sup> DE VILLIERS, (Rubric)

AT THE CREEK NATION, *16th of September, 1794.*

TO MONSIEUR DON HENRY WHITE.

GALPHIN TO BURGESS

*September 18, 1794*<sup>222</sup>

No. 3. Copy

*September 18, 1794*

SIR: We received your letter in the assembly, so the occasion could not have been better, and this is our reply in regard to the matter of going to St. Augustine. It is not possible for us to do this at present, and so it must not be expected that any of us will go from these parts, because our business with the Americans is entirely unsettled. You must have already heard that the Americans are building forts on this side of the Oconee River. We are resolved to dispute our rights with them. You may, if you have an opportunity, inform the governor of the reason why we are not going to see him. We cannot leave our nation in the situation in which it is today, for, if we should go to see our friend and father, the Americans, if they find the towns unguarded, might take advantage of the opportunity to enter them and carry off our women and children. I believe that our entire nation is of the same opinion, for they see that the Americans only wish to deprive us of our rights. Of this our entire nation is convinced.

The Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees hold the same view, and therefore we are determined to go in a large body against those people who have established themselves on this side of the Oconee, because we see that nothing else will do any good. Our assembly today was for the purpose of consulting upon what we should do; and we decided and determined to go against them, because we know that sending them talks avails us nothing, and only gives them time to fortify themselves better.

You will inform the governor that we are only going in defense of our lands, and not to rob or steal, but to defend our rights as men and warriors ought to do. We will only travel over our own lands because the Americans have come daily into our woods to hunt. From

time to time we have sent them messages of friendship; but we are now undeceived and realize that it was of no value, and so we are obliged to take other means.

We would be happy to know whether the Spaniards and Americans in that vicinity are friendly or not, because they had some disagreements not long ago. The Spaniards have always offered to give us arms and ammunition, and the governor of Pensacola has obliged us at all times there with these. We should like to know whether the governor of St. Augustine will do the same.

We will only move against those Americans to defend our property. Our desire is to keep the peace with all nations, but they do not think the same way, for if they think so they would not encroach upon our lands. For a long time we have tried to make peace with them, but always in vain, for while we were trying to make peace, they were advancing upon us. We cannot remain quiet while we see ourselves robbed of our property.

The injustice will be apparent to anyone who understands that our life is dependent upon the woods; for if they deprive us of our lands how can we clothe our women and children? Where shall we find game? We cannot clothe ourselves in any other way.

You will also assemble all your people and tell them to keep quiet and listen to us, and not think of robbery. When we return from our march they will know better what they ought to do.

Since we are going to drive them from our lands, the chiefs say that you shall inform all your people that they will be notified, when we are ready to begin our expedition, in order that they may collect all their hunters. They will be informed of the appointed days, and they will know where to meet; but let not one of them go out until he has orders, and by no means to St. Marys, in order to avoid the mistakes which have happened on other occasions.

Call Long Warrior and the king of Mecasuke, and inform them of the talks, and of what we are going to do, and tell them to send the talks to Payne at Alachua, so that he may know our intention, and that the upper and lower towns are determined upon this course; and that the great friend of the Americans, Mad Dog, is one of the first to go against them. They also wish that the governor and the commandant of St. Marks shall see these messages.

When the message conveying the appointed days is sent to your people, it will be accompanied by a letter from me to you, for having been named by them, I am here now to write everything that the chiefs arrange. I expect that you will communicate directly to me in writing the first steps that you take in this vicinity, for it is improper for the traders to carry messages by word of mouth. Ussahe

is wanting war. Tell him, if he comes here, he will find plenty of war.

Your most obedient servant

JUAN GALPHIN.

Tell Ussahe that Tullutchuge wants him here to keep him company.

(This is a copy of the original translation made by Don Robert Leslie)

VEGAS (Rubric)

McDONALD TO CARONDELET

*September 20, 1794*<sup>223</sup>

LOWER CHEROKEES *September 20th 1794*—

*His Excellency Baron de Carondelet.*

SIR: Owing to the great distance from here to New Orleans it is not always in my power to give your Excellency as early intelligence of events, as I often wish, but I generally communicate all occurrences to Pensacola.

The Nation have very generally attended to your Excellencys advice, respecting peace since the Spring. But, Governor Blount do not seem to wish for peace on his part, except the Indians will deliver up all the property they have taken sence the commencement of the War, which the Indians will never agree to. I have sent Gov<sup>r</sup>. Blounts letter to this effect to Pensacola, which no doubt you have seen— The Nations have returned the Gov<sup>r</sup>. a good answer expressive of sincerity to be at peace with the United States, provided Americans would forget all past injury in the way of property, Which the Indians would do on their part, whos loss they conceived to be equal to that, the whites complained of. and each party keep what they had taken— These were the terms the Indians proposed to make peace, to which they expected the whites would readily accede to. sence they appeared anxious to obtain. The Indians have waited quietly at home expecting to hear afavourable answer from Governor Blount. which (they thought) they had reason to expect, sence the negociation so far begun But, in stead of such, the Indians found their country invaded, their women and children killed, their houses burnt, and all their other little property taken or destroyed. This have been the fate of Necojackie and the runing water—I Judge the party to be from Cumberland—they crossed the Cherokee River little below the Village of Necojackie, and was not

<sup>223</sup> BL. (English).



discovered till they had surrounded the place, few made their escape by means of the River but numbers were killed in the water.

As soon as the party compleated their business here they pushed on to the Runing-water, situated few miles above on the same River, but the Indians there being alarmed by the firing of guns, had time to get out the way before the whites came, few Indians gave them afire but was too weak to stand, they accordingly retreated with the loss of two killed and one mortally wounded. After burning the town, and destroying everything of vallue to an Indian, the party re-crossed the River with their prisoners, I mean, what few they had saved at Necojackie— The number missing including the dead is about forty. This disaster happened on the 13th Instant, all the near towns raised as quick as the affair were known, but it answered no purpose as the whites made no stay. The situation of the survivors are certainly distressing, not being able to save anything except what they happened to have on their Backs owing to the confusion in which they escaped—

It is the wish of the Bloodyfellow and the rest of the head men of the lower part of the Nation, that, I should make your Excellency ackuainted with this misfortune, as they place the highest confidence in his Catholick Majestys gracious protection, and support. The nations are so devided in sentiments that nothing can be don with regularity, and I have reason to think, from the appearance of things, they will be engaged in killing one another before all is don— Let what will happen the lower part of the Nation will remain firm friends. With respect to this subject I beg leave for the present, to refer your Excellency to my letter of the 17th ult<sup>o</sup> to Governor White of Pensacola who no doubt have sent you that letter; and as I expect to be in Pensacola about the 20th of next month I Should be happy to have the honour of a few lines in answer, which probably may come to hand before I leave there.

With every sentiment of sincerity I have the honour to remain  
sir your Excellencys most obed<sup>t</sup>. and very Humble Servant

JN<sup>O</sup>. McDONALD

N. B. twenty of the dead are found and Burried.

WHITE TO CARONDELET

*September 22, 1794*<sup>224</sup>

PENSACOLA, *September 22, 1794*

**MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR:** In this instant, at five o'clock in the afternoon, I received the two letters from McDonald and one from

Villiers. I enclose the originals for the reason that the boat is ready to sail, and there is not time to copy them. At the same time I am informed of the death of Mr. Butler in the house of Mr. Panton.

I remain always at the disposition of Your Lordship.

Your most devoted servant kisses your hand.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

BURGESS TO VEGAS

*September 28, 1794*<sup>225</sup>

No. 1. Copy

FLINT RIVER, *September 28, 1794*

MY DEAR SIR: I received the speech of the Indian nations yesterday, and I am sending it to you so that you may see it. It is enclosed with my letter to His Excellency the governor of Florida. After you have examined the speech of the Indians will you enclose it again and seal it and forward it with all the speed that you can to the governor. Sir, the bearer is the one of whom I spoke to you with the intention of sending by him all the letters that may be necessary for your information. I believe he is as safe as anybody.

Kindly send the letter to the governor by the safest hand that you can find. In the meantime I am your friend and servant.

DIEGO BURGES

Commandant of St. Marks.

Do me the favor to send me a line or two by the bearer.

(This is a copy of the translation made by Don Robert Leslie)

VEGAS (Rubric)

PANTON TO CARONDELET

*September 30, 1794*<sup>226</sup>

Copy.

PENSACOLA, *September 30, 1794*.

MY ESTEEMED SIR: In reply to the question which you put to me the other afternoon, I ought to inform you that with care vessels of any tonnage can enter the Ocklockonee River, on condition that they do not draw more than ten feet of water. From there troops can embark in flat-bottomed boats or galleys, constructed in such a manner that they do not draw more than four feet of water. There is nothing to prevent these from going up as far as Chattahoochee at the village of the Cahuitas. There are roads from there to the place at which General Clarke is established, but I suspect that they are not open

<sup>225</sup> BL.

<sup>226</sup> BL.

enough to allow the passage of a campaign supply train. The country, nevertheless, is passably level, and field pieces could be carried by horses led by a halter. Really I see no difficulty on the road to prevent the passage of a determined soldier at the head of a band of brave men supported by a body of Indians.

I am your obedient servant,

WILLIAM PANTON

I have been informed that there are rapids in the Flint River which prevent its passage, but I am not certain of it. The village of the Cahuitas on the Chattahoochee is about 175 English miles from Clarke's establishment.

EL BARON DE CARONDELET (Rubric)

LACASSAGNE TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*October 1, 1794*<sup>227</sup>

LOUISVILLE, *October 1, 1794*

SIR: The letter which I have the honor of enclosing for Monsieur le Baron de Carondelet is of some importance and should be sent to him at your earliest and surest opportunity.

The inhabitants of the other side of the Appalachian Mountains, in the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia, are refusing in a most outrageous manner to pay the whiskey tax imposed by the law of Congress. The president of the United States ordered last July the raising of 12,950 militiamen, in order to force the rebels to behave, and the governor of Pennsylvania sent the chief justice of the supreme court of the state and General Irvine to try to induce them to return to order and obey the law without the use of force. It is said that this mission has already produced the desired effect.

In a battle which General Wayne fought on August 20 last, against an army estimated at 1000 men, both Indians and Canadians, two leagues from the English fort which is located on the Miami River three leagues away from Lake Erie, he killed a great number of men and forced the remainder to flee. After this he destroyed the corn, etc., on about 5000 arpents of land, and is now chasing the savages, burning the villages, and destroying the fields which he is finding there. I have just received this news from persons who have come from the American camp.

The people of this country will persevere in wanting to obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi, either amicably or by force, but there is not the slightest appearance of hostile measures against His Catholic Majesty at the present moment.

<sup>227</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (French).

You may expect to hear from me in case things should take a turn or if anything extraordinary happens.

Please be so kind as to acknowledge the receipt of this letter as well as the package which it contains.

I am, with respect, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient

ML. LACASSAGNE (Rubric)

LACASSAGNE TO CARONDELET

*October 1, 1794*<sup>228</sup>

LOUISVILLE, *October 1, 1794.*

MONSIEUR BARON: I received on the 2nd of September, the letter which you did me the honor of writing to me on the 23rd of April last. After the pleasure which a righteous heart must find in the practice of good, there comes the one which he derives from the good opinion which his behavior inspires, especially in people of your merit, Monsieur Baron. I began life with nothing but exalted ideas as to the dignity of the man who conducts himself well. Despite the errors which too great a degree of frankness, too much simplicity in manners, and too great a sensibility of character cause one sometimes to commit—the persons with whom I have worked, and those with whom I have had relations, either through business or through friendship, have recompensed me, in accordance with their knowledge of my heart, by giving me the means of working for the comforts which I am enjoying.

I should have thought it probable, Monsieur Baron, that in the conversations which we have had together, you would have been in a position to learn my way of thinking with reference to the circumstances to which I imagine you alluded in your aforesaid letter. But what I should never have believed, is that, although we might differ in our opinions as to things which bear no relation to the purpose of our connection, this fact should diminish the confidence to be placed in me in regard to the part which you had been kind enough to let me take in the fulfillment of that purpose. I promised you tacitly, and I should, with a clear conscience, have been able to swear to you, if you had deemed it necessary, that I should never do anything against the interests, the dignity, etc, etc. of his Catholic Majesty. But I am not, nor should have even considered myself thereby obligated to give up expressing hopes that the French should establish their republic and obtain all kinds of local success without my necessarily joining or helping the hidden or declared enemies of his Catholic Majesty.

<sup>228</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (French).

Therefore it would appear, if I have understood the import of your letter, that my private opinions may influence the conduct of his Majesty's officers toward me. I owe to you, as much as to that frankness and probity in which I take pride, an explanation of my ideas and my principles, so that while there is still time, you may be able to judge, Monsieur Baron, whether or nor I deserve the confidence necessary for the conduct of such an affair. I more than once pointed out to you that I have undertaken it more in order to obviate the evils which the mutual pretensions of Spain and the country of the west might cause, than through any personal interest which I might have hoped to derive from it. And as I cannot make these ideas and principles better known except by repeating what I have said publicly, I am going to transcribe here the substance of an answer which I felt obliged to write in reply to a letter which M. Pierre Rousseau, commanding his Majesty's galleys, was good enough to send to me from New Madrid last summer:

"I have always believed that a man entering into or continuing to live in a state of society, neither has renounced or does renounce thereby his happiness and his freedom, but on the contrary tries to increase and perpetuate those boons which he could not retain without a similar association. Consequently, as soon as the government encroaches on recognized or imaginary rights, or as soon as the governed think that they are not enjoying this happiness and that liberty, they may by general consent change both their governor and their government. Admitting therefore, as I do, that a king should govern his people well, as much from a sense of justice as of duty, *I look upon* the individual as a disturber of the public peace who seeks to disturb people who are really, or even apparently, satisfied with their lot, by spreading uncertain opinions, because there is not and probably never shall be a fixed point according to which the good may be distinguished from the better. I know that this opinion is held to be absurd by many people who allege that the existing abuses would last forever through a similar behavior. But it is in the light of those principles, good or bad, that I have approved and do still approve the revolution in France, while abhorring and deploring every day the horrors, however necessary, which it has produced. It is in view of those principles again, that when I came down the Mississippi last year, I said to the very small number of persons who questioned me that the causes which had induced the French to change their government did not exist in Louisiana. There, to my knowledge, one was not oppressed either by taxes or by duties, unless minor officers or commandants whose authority was limited perhaps took the liberty, because of it, of vexing and annoying one. I said that I was sure that one would obtain satisfaction by going to the fount-head of

justice. And it is also in the light of those principles that I condemned the expedition projected against Louisiana as being outside of the goal and purpose of the French, and that if it should occur, it would be an excuse for pillage."

In several circumstances I learned that certain people had stated they knew me, and that I had received them well at my house. I have never seen these persons, or if I have met them, they were only passing by, or perhaps I knew them by name, or they came with the pretext of buying something in my store. The report of the person whom you call *Pesgignoux*—and if it is the same one, he came to me as *Gignoux*—does surprise me, for good cause. Having found out from trustworthy persons that he was a man without principles, as circumstances proved him to be, I could not bother seeing him. But he took advantage of an opportunity to come one evening when *Monsieur de Luziere's* family, and the nuns of *La Rochefoucault*, *De La Marche*, and *Chevalier*, had been dining with me and were still present. As the annoyance I feel in the company of people whom I do not esteem and of whom I cannot get rid without offending the proprieties, tends to make me keep silent, he had all the time necessary, after the company had left, to convince me, with the stories he chose to tell me, that the description which had been made of him was neither false nor exaggerated. He took it upon himself again three or four more times to accompany to my house the family and the ladies whom I have just named. However, as I was not any better disposed towards him than the first time, I failed again to condescend to put him in a position to find out my opinions. In view of these facts, I cannot refrain from repeating my surprise at his impudence in reporting anything else but the statements about the revolution in France of which the ladies and gentlemen present, all its victims, approved in view of the motives at the basis of them.

You will allow me to point out to you, *Monsieur Baron*, that you are deluded as to the effect which two additional regiments, one artillery company, and 200,000 piasters a year extra, will produce in the defense of Louisiana against any attack on the part of this country.

The antipathy, not to say hatred, which the Americans have for the Spanish is as real as it is irremediable. And it is with the knowledge of this antipathy that I had the honor of urging you in our conversations to recommend to the commandants of posts on the Mississippi to treat the passing Americans as men who neither try nor are able to commit evil, regardless of what may be their usually unprepossessive appearance or outfit. This conduct would induce the Americans to lose their prejudices which (any thinking person will admit it) are as baseless as the ones that held sway when the times were *barbarous* or when circumstances gave rise to biased views

against the Spanish among other nations. As I say, in view of this antipathy, if Spain saw fit to forbid the Americans from navigating the Mississippi and if it were known, as the appearances would soon reveal, that the 200,000 piasters were fulfilling the purpose which I imagine they would be used for, nothing more would be necessary in the first case, to cause a considerable number of men to take up arms and in the second instance to induce even the women and children to join the outcry and clamor of public indignation. I appeal to your judgement, Monsieur Baron. What resistance could you offer with your forts, even though through your care they are as strong as the location of the terrain may permit, against people prompted to revenge by an exaggerated idea of your injustice in denying to them the enjoyment of a prerogative which they are convinced is a natural one, and in encouraging the Indians to murder them and their women and children. All this would be independent of the motive of loot which it is generally believed to be had in and around New Orleans.

I am willing, however, to admit that you might destroy the first two or three armies which would attempt to capture Louisiana; or that, without exposing yourself to great trouble you could prohibit or impose whatever conditions you might deem fit upon the exports of this country. Do you think in good faith, Monsieur Baron, that the 200,000 people at least, who compose the population of the western country, and whom you would deprive by this prohibition or tax of the wealth which agriculture gives, would remain submissive under this yoke?

It must not be inferred from the small forces opposed to the Indians that the resources of the country are not considerable. The people of the west are their principal victims and, for this reason, would make an effort to end their depredations. Although the fact that the Congress has not up to now been very successful in raising soldiers makes foreigners believe that the United States are weak (and they look weaker than they really are), the true cause of this lack of success may be attributed to the inhabitants in the sea-board states. They are far from the place of hostilities and, furthermore, beliefs are prevalent as to the cruel and singular fighting ways of the Indians. On the other hand, the people in the western country are interested in continuing this war despite the exposed situations of the frontier, in view of the money which the supply of the army brings into the country. It is to this war, or rather to the outlets which it is creating that you owe, for the greater part, the tranquility which you shall probably enjoy at the hands of these peoples until its termination. At that time, you will have to attract their attention toward some new objective, or else grant their demands.

You will admit, Monsieur Baron, that the sums of money necessary to place and keep yourself on guard, and the precariousness of a

situation which would oblige you to be continually on the *qui vive*, would surpass by far the means necessary for taking all extraordinary precautions. The only exception, permit me to judge of this, might be by the movements and expenditure which the rumored invasion of General Clark induced your prudence to make. Permit me also to mention the fight of America for her emancipation from the mother country. The English, with powerful resources and navy, were unable to conquer the Americans for the rather likely reason that the latter were fighting for what they held dearer than life, and for their homes, while the former fought more to uphold the prerogatives of the Crown than for any concrete objectives, and had to transport the means of reducing the Americans over a distance of a thousand leagues. The surest means of inducing a man to observe his duty or his interest is not to deceive him or to disguise the truth from him. There are exceptional cases where it is suitable to keep quiet because I experience for myself man's irresistible inclination to judge the things which do not concern him as well as those which do. Whether he has the right to do so or not, he will assume it.

While talking with some Americans from this district about the conquest of Louisiana, this is what I told them: "Spain desires our friendship and is disposed to encourage one commerce, under conditions as favorable as necessary for the maintenance of the port and the government which protects our products from the time of their entrance to that of their exit from the Mississippi. Do not the United States require duties on all the articles which foreigners bring into their ports? What rights have we abroad, when we do not accord any to strangers? What is our pretention, then, to seize a country over which we have no more rights than Spain has over ours? But since you have decided as unjustly as inconsiderately to attempt the capture of Louisiana, let me warn you of the necessity of making this attack with sufficient numbers, in order not to render the hoped-for success doubtful. Reflect upon the evils to which, despite your being hardened to fatigue and despite the attraction which life at the forts has for you, you expose yourselves if you do not succeed. The inhabitants, upon your retreat, will treat you as those who have not succeeded are usually treated, that is, as bandits come to their region to rob them. And the Indians, who beyond all doubt will be set to pursue you, will hound you just as they hound the beasts of the forests. You are in a position to judge for yourself of their advantage over you in a length of road like the one between New Orleans and your home. The fortresses of Louisiana, although built as solidly as possible, are not impregnable. On the contrary, they are quite easily pregnable, especially the ones in New Orleans where the terrain is flat and sandy, and where by digging two or three feet one reaches the water. But they will be defended with all the zeal which the



importance attached to them by Spain is capable of arousing, since Spain regards this province as a buffer because of its contiguity to her possessions in South America. If you were to be lucky enough to get possession of New Orleans (and without that city any other post in that province would be useless to you), where is your navy to maintain you there? Without it a single armed boat placed at the mouth of the Mississippi, would make your capture even of that city useless. Spain is as interested as we are in avoiding a quarrel between us. Spain's situation is doubtful, first, because it is faced with the heavy expenses necessary to maintain forces, the utility of which might be often uncertain; and next because retaining possession of New Orleans is precarious since the principal place (Havana) capable of providing it with prompt and efficacious aid is located two hundred leagues away beyond the sea. The situation of the western country is equally doubtful because, in view of the impracticability of finding a port on the coast of Louisiana to shelter safely the navy necessary to protect and preserve this possession, it would have to appeal to some maritime power whose responsibility would be at least doubtful. Since the good dispositions of Spain toward us are uncertain or precarious, let us see, before adopting hostile measures, what representations made by ourselves may produce. I am sure that Spain will do more for us than she has up to now seemed willing to do in view of the representations of the Congress, because, in accordance with the measures which politics dictate to her, she is expecting returns from us, which the Congress could not make. These returns, although considered by Spain as most interesting to herself, are nothing but what our situation with regards to the United States prompts us to do."

132, 34:3,10,4:75. . . . [Twelve pages of code follow.]

The inhabitants of the counties beyond the Appalachian Mountains in the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia have unanimously refused, since the passage of the law in Congress, to pay the excise on the whiskey. They rebelled again last July near Pittsburg and committed outrages as shocking as they were alarming for the good order of society. The president of the United States ordered the raising of 12,950 militia troops to put down the rebellion. The governor of Pennsylvania, in the meantime, sent the chief justice of the supreme court of the state and General Irvine to try to induce them to return to their duty and obey the laws before the intervention of the armed forces ordered against them. Even if the mission of these two gentlemen were to have the desired effect, which it is said has already occurred, it is quite doubtful whether they will be more peaceful in the future than they have been in the past in cases where it is a question of paying excise taxes, which to their minds are as unreasonable as import duties are reasonable.

General Wayne fought a battle on August 20 last, about three leagues from Lake Erie against an army estimated at about 1000 men, Indians as well as Canadian militiamen. He obliged this army, after a rather hard fought battle of an hour and a quarter, to disperse and flee. A large number of Indians was killed in this fight and in the previous one under the command of the American Major McMahon below the walls of Fort Recovery on June 30 last (these facts were learned from an English deserter immediately after the battle) and it is an averred fact that the English fort on the Miami River of the Lakes, commanded by a certain Major Campbell with a garrison of 300 men, closed its doors to the fugitives after the battle of the 20th which took place about two leagues from this place. Consequently it may be assumed that it will not be long before the savages make peace with America. They have been turned away from this course up to now, according to all appearances, by the English promises of help. In view of the behavior of the English after the last and next to the last fights, in which the English promised more than they fulfilled, the Indians are in a position to judge and they will judge with certainty as follows: The English have not furnished them any aid openly for fear of causing a breach with America, and for the same reason, they will not furnish them any unless their political situation with regard to the United States gives them an opportunity. Consequently it is better for the Indians to renounce a war in which the personal interest they have in keeping it up (if it is true that any other country can suit the Indians as well as the one which created and set up their quarrel with the United States) is not worth the misfortunes they are suffering and their annihilation sooner or later, if they persevere in opposing the Americans.

From persons who have arrived here three or four days ago from the American camp I learn that General Wayne is pursuing the Indians on the Miami River and the other rivers which flow into the lakes. On his march he is burning the villages and destroying the crops. After the battle of the 20th he destroyed about 5000 arpents planted in corn etc. which were near the battlefield.

I beg you, Monsieur Baron, not to be displeased at my having enclosed with this letter one for Mr. Butler, in view of the fact that it contains two protested drafts drawn by Mr. Josef Reines on Mr. Leamy at Philadelphia. I am sending them to Mr. Butler so that he may recover the amount from the aforesaid Reines.

I am with respect, and, may I add, with a very real attachment for your person, Monsieur Baron,

Your most humble and most obedient servant

ML. LACASSAGNE (Rubric)

## VEGAS TO BURGESS

*October 2, 1794*<sup>229</sup>

## No. 4. Copy

SAN MARCOS DE APALACHE, *October 2, 1794*

MY DEAR SIR AND ESTEEMED FRIEND: I received yesterday your valued letter dated the 28th of last September, and with it another for the governor of St. Augustine, and the talk from the Indian nations. It was all translated for me by our friend Don Robert Leslie, and I read it afterwards with much attention; and since the matter is interesting I have this morning ordered the interpreter of this fort to go to Tallahassee to look for a faithful messenger, in order to send the letter and talks as quickly as possible to St. Augustine. In this there will be no delay.

I deeply appreciated the efficiency and zeal with which you have sent the information, and I shall write to my superiors so that they may recognize you as a true friend of the Spaniards.

The day has now arrived when the nations may learn how little confidence and attention are merited by the talks and promises of Mr. Seagrove; and those who wrote the bold letters to the governors of Louisiana and St. Augustine will realize how unfounded their extravagant statements were.

The chief of Sonostica, whom you sent to me with the letters, informs me that ten or twelve days ago the Cahuitas and Cherokees had a skirmish on the upper Apalachicola, when they concealed themselves in the woods to ambush the Americans, of whom they killed four men. In addition they brought away thirty horses, thirty saddles and carbines, without themselves receiving any harm. He also tells me that the Americans have threatened to come down on them with 5000 men by the Flint River, as far as the place where you are settled and to come afterwards and take this fort. They threaten then to go on to the conquest of St. Augustine, to which their ships of war will contribute. The chief assures me that you are informed of all these things. I am very much surprised that you say nothing to me about this in the letter unless it be that you forgot it in the hurry of sending off the courier to me.

As I see in the talk which John Galphin communicates to you in the name of those chiefs that they advise him you are to spread the word in these lower towns so that it may be known that they are going in a large body to dislodge the Americans from those forts they are constructing on this side of the Ocone River; and that in the meantime you are to gather together all the warriors and have them ready to march wherever the chiefs may designate, without

going to St. Marys until orders are received, so as to avoid mistakes such as occurred on other occasions. I have no doubt of your efficiency, and that you will inform me promptly of the orders and talks that you receive, and of any news, good or bad, that may come, first obtaining full information about it, so that I may take the necessary measures.

The fortune of war is varied. If the red men should have the misfortune to fail in this expedition which they are about to undertake, they might ask aid for these lower towns, because the Americans or other enemies are pursuing and attacking them in their own country. In that case you will promise on my behalf to the warriors who may get together to go to their assistance that for the present I shall help each one with one pound of powder and two of ball, until more munitions of war can be sent to me from Pensacola or New Orleans. In order to prevent any of them taking advantage of me, as they have already tried to do in the annual gift, you will inform them that they must present to me an affidavit from you stating the number of hunters taken by each party, for otherwise, I shall not believe it. This must be understood with the towns situated on the two rivers of Apalachicola and Flint which are designated to receive their annual present at this fort, as I explained in the statement which I sent to you in August. The others must repair to the place to which they are assigned; I shall attend myself to those who are nearest here.

Now, the chief whom you sent as a courier to me wished to take powder and ball to those of his town, alleging that when they receive orders to get ready perhaps there will not be time to come after them. I made him the same reply that I shall make to you, which is: that if they are called in such haste that they cannot come down here for the necessary ammunition, let them set out on the road without delay, and permit some warriors and horses to come to me, with your affidavits of the true number of hunters going from each town, so that they may be given the ammunition. They may then go and join the others at the appointed place. This is in view of the fact that the upper towns always have good supplies of ammunition, and can provide for those from the lower towns for their first operations.

I believe that you, as a man of good judgment, will find these precautions which I am taking to be wise. The first reason is that I ought not to furnish them with ammunition to fight anybody without being assured that it is for their own defense and that of their lands, families, and cattle. This contingency has not yet occurred, and if it should not happen, they would use the supplies for other purposes, and there would be none on hand if on some other occasion a real emergency should arise. The second reason

is that not all the hunters go to war, and those who remain at home have neither the same right nor necessity as the others.

I have entertained the chief and his companion in my house; and on behalf of the King I have given them a small barrel of brandy, two shirts, and sufficient provisions for the road. With these they go content. Whenever you send me reports that are of interest to us I shall endeavor to satisfy the person who brings them.

Today I am sending the two messengers to Mr. Leslie's house, with a soldier who is taking this letter to him to have it translated into English. I entrusted both of them to him to deliver to you, and I am going to write to the governor of St. Augustine, enclosing yours, with the message of Galphin, in order to despatch the courier at the instant of the arrival of the Indian whom I expect tomorrow.

I again assure you my sincere regard, as always, and I desire all happiness for you.

Your faithful friend and servant.

DIEGO DE VEGAS

SEÑOR DON DIEGO BURGESS

(This is a copy of the original which I sent to Don Diego Burgess).

VEGAS (Rubric)

VEGAS TO QUESADA

*October 3, 1794* <sup>230</sup>

No. 5. Copy

I place in Your Lordship's hands a private letter from Don James Burgess, and on a separate sheet a talk and report directed to him by the half-breed John Galphin, by order of the chiefs who met in the council, as Your Lordship will see.

Day before yesterday at nightfall, the chief and a warrior from Sonostica arrived at my lodging with these two documents, enclosed in a letter to me from Burgess. Don Robert Leslie was present, and I requested him to translate mine for me. Seeing that Burgess told me that he was sending me the letter to Your Lordship and the talk from Galphin both open, so that I might inform myself of their contents, before forwarding them as safely as possible, I caused both of them to be translated. After learning about everything, I sent the interpreter of this post yesterday to Tallahassee to find for me a reliable courier for the purpose.

I have also to tell Your Lordship two things of which the aforesaid chief informed me by word of mouth: First, that recently an encounter occurred on the upper Apalachicola River between the Americans and the Kawitas and Cherokees. The Americans passed where the Indians were in ambush, and were surprised and put to flight,

leaving four dead and thirty saddle horses and forty carbines. Second, that the Americans threatened to come down on them with five thousand men by the Flint River, as far as the settlement of Mr. Burgess; and then to go on and take the fort under my command. They threaten then to go on and conquer the fort in charge of Your Lordship, with the assistance of their ships of war. The chief also told me that Burgess was aware of both incidents, and I am surprised that he did not touch upon them in his letter to me, unless it be that it was forgotten in the hurry of sending off the courier, or that he was waiting for more particular assurances of it.

The first piece of news, since it is likely, is easy to believe. The second is more problematical, for it may be only a threat to intimidate them, although in the state of affairs it would not be difficult to believe that some thousands of Sans Culots who are wandering about mixed with the Americans might attempt these forays even without the knowledge of the superior congress, and might try their fortunes against our settlements.

I have warned Burgess among other things that only in case the Americans or other enemies enter the nations for the purpose of committing hostilities and robberies will I supply to each warrior from the towns, who gather here to receive the annual present, a pound of powder and two of ball for their defense, until more ammunition is received from Pensacola. This will be on condition that they bring me his affidavit of the number of hunters who may be going out from each village; but never for the purpose of going to rob or attack the lands of the United States.

I believe there will be nothing more to tell Your Lordship to make you acquainted with the condition of these lower towns except that the nineteen towns which, from August up to this time, have come to receive the present have returned well-satisfied and disposed to join in the reciprocal defense if the occasion should arise. Four towns are still lacking.

I do not doubt, from the zeal which inspires Your Lordship for the better service of the King, our master, that now, and at any time you should receive news which would cause you to suspect hostilities against the post under my command, you will be good enough to give me advance information, so that I may keep watch with greater care.

God keep Your Lordship for many years.

SAN MARCOS DE APALACHE, *October 3, 1794.*

DIEGO DE VEGAS

SEÑOR DON JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA.

Postscript. The Indian whom I was expecting did not arrive until today, the 4th, and this same afternoon he departs on the journey. His name is Acaichache, and his fidelity and diligence have been

proven upon other occasions when he has been employed as courier. I have settled with him for 50 *chorques* of two shillings each as is the custom here, and I shall pay it to him in goods that he likes when he returns. I have also given him enough provisions for the road. If your Lordship wishes to give him something else, we shall make him even more grateful and ready if the occasion arises to employ him again. In this respect there are now many difficulties, because of the great mortality among the horses which has prevailed in these lower towns.

(This is a copy of the original which I sent to the governor of St. Augustine.)

VEGAS (Rubric)

#### REQUEST FOR ARMS

*October 13, 1794*<sup>231</sup>

OLD TOWN WETONKA, *October 13, 1794.*

SIR: The chief called Matipouega, great chief of the town, begs you to be so kind as to give him rifles, powder, and shot for the two war chiefs called Painechimioy and Coulipicapa, and thirty one young men. The war chief named Painechimioy has been so unfortunate as to lose his commission in a fire which devoured all his possessions.

I am your etc., etc.,

THEIR INTERPRETER

#### A TALK FROM THE MAD DOG AND THE HEADMEN OF THE TWO RIVERS TO THE HEADMEN AND WARRIORS OF THE LOWER CREEKS

*October 18, 1794*<sup>232</sup>

TUCKABATCHES *October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1794*

A Talk from the Mad Dog and the Head Men of the two Rivers The Mad Dog hopes that the Head Men of the Lower Towns will hold themselves in readiness to meet him at the Cussitahs as he is on his way down, he hopes the Uchees & Usuchees will pay attention to this Talk and not fail to meet him but to think that the Talk comes from their own Yard, the Mad Dog talks to their friends the Cowitas and the whole River, and all his friends & hopes they will pay attention to his Talk and assist him, as he is coming down for the welfare of the whole Nation. The Greatest obstacle in the way of Peace being removed by the white People, he hopes the Head Men will give good Talks to all their Young people and restrain them from doing any Mischief, and assist him, as he is going down for the good of the

<sup>231</sup> BL, (French).

<sup>232</sup> BL, (English).

Nation. The Mad Dog expects they will keep the path clear and open for him to go thro, he hopes they will pay attention to this Talk as it is agreed on by the Head Men of the two Rivers to lay Still untill his return, as he has undertaken this Journey & his going down for the Benefit of the whole Nation. The Uchees and Usuchees my Town I talk to you by the Voice of the whole Nation and hope you will meet me at the Cussitahs with the Negroes, Horses and other property, what is out at Tallyouhano or Flint River you must send of Runners and Collect it at Tim Barnards as the restoring this property is the only thing that will get us a Good Peace, The Uchees must not fail to Collect and bring what they lately brought in,

My friends the Cowetas, I now talk to you if you have any such property, I hope you will bring it to me at the Cussitahs. Well my friends this will be handed to you by our friends the Cussitah King and Warrior King and we hope you will pay attention to them, So no more from Your friend the

MAD DOG

My friends the Hallowing King and Little Prince I hope you will be at the Cussitahs the Sixth Day in the morning where I will meet with you.

MAD DOG

My friends I am a Man that wishes for Good Talks and to hold all white people by the Hand, I do not wish you to believe any other, the Spanish Captain deceiving us a few days ago, by not coming to our meeting when he had promised us to go to Pensacola for Arms and Ammunition occasioned the young people to be a little Cross, but I wish both sides well, and mean to hold all White people fast by the hand, at the same time some men went of to take Horses, I sent & brought them back, a few made their escape without my Consent or knowledge, & I hope this will not be any obstacle to Peace as I wish both Spaniards & Americans well.

OAKFUSKEYS, KIALEEGES, BIG TALLASEES,  
CLWALLY'S, WHITE GROUND, MUCKLESSESSES,  
TUSKEEKEES, ALABAMAS, HICCORY GROUND,  
CUSSADOES, TUCKABATCHES

the Head Men of the above towns all present at the Tuckabatches this 18<sup>th</sup> October 1794—

P S The White Lieutenant is going to have a Talk with the Abecas, at the Oakfuskees on the same Business.

MAD DOG

(Addressed:)

Headmen and Warriors of the Lower Creeks



## MEUNIER AND ROLAND TO CARONDELET

*October, 1794*<sup>233</sup>

*To His Lordship, the Baron de Carondelet, knight of the Order of Malta, colonel in the armies of his Christian Majesty, governor, intendant, vice-patron of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, deputy inspector of the troops and militias of the same, etc.—*

MY LORD: Jean Meunier and Roland, merchants and traders at St. Louis of Illinois petition and state most humbly that Your Lordship in your goodness deigned to accord to the said Jean Meunier exclusive trading privileges of the post of the savages called Poncas for four years, as a reward for his courage in penetrating into the countries of these barbarians where nobody had gone before. As a consequence of this generous act of Your Lordship, the petitioners had entered into a contract of association, and had filled their stores with goods proper for the trade of that nation during all the time of their privilege. The aforesaid Jean Meunier had already left for his first expedition, and Roland had remained at St. Louis to attend to the correspondence and the distribution of goods when the petitioners were surprised to learn the cancellation of their privilege. They did not hesitate to address themselves to Your Excellency. They make bold to set forth, My Lord, that this cancellation is very injurious to their interests, since they bought the trading goods necessary for that post, which are of no use in any other nation but that one. All these goods will remain unsold, and this will render them unable to meet their obligations. The petitioners are fully convinced that Your Lordship, in revoking this privilege, has thought only of the general good, but they are equally persuaded that the good faith and justice of Your Lordship have been imposed upon by false statements concerning the public welfare, whereas those who solicited this revocation had in mind their own private advantage. In consideration of this, My Lord, they make bold to hope that Your Excellency, heeding the petition of two unfortunate men, will be so good as to grant them the same privilege. They expect it from your goodness and your justice, and they will not stop praying for the preservation of your precious life.

ST. LOUIS, *October, 1794.*

JEAN MEUNIER, and ROLAND (Rubric)

(Accompanying the preceding petition:)

I, Pierre Quenel, certify that I have never known any trader among the Poncas except Jean Meunier, nor heard of anyone who doubted it.

PIERRE QUENEL,  
*Trader of the Missouri.*

<sup>233</sup> BL, (French).

I, the undersigned, certify that I have never known any other trader among the Poncas except Jean Meunier, who was the first trader to reach them and who is an old Missouri trader.

JOSEPH LA BROSSÉ (Rubric)  
X Mark of BASILLE VASEUR

ST. LOUIS, *11th of September, 1794.*

I, the undersigned, certify that I have never known any other trader among the Poncas except Jean Meunier, who was the first trader to reach them and who is also an old Missouri trader.

Not knowing how to sign, I have made my ordinary mark.  
ST. LOUIS, *12th of September, 1794.*

X Mark of JOSEPH HÉBERT  
LOUIS DORION, witness (Rubric)

OWEN TO VIDAL

*October 19, 1794*<sup>234</sup>

NEW MADRID *Oct<sup>r</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup> 1794*

DEAR SIR I arrived here the 8th not in good health for I was arrested a little beyond white river by a fever which constantly to my great mortification kept me company till four days after my arrival here, when by well tanning myself I got rid of the disagreeable guest.—Be so good as to present my respectful compliments to his excellency Don Gayso inform him if you please that I embark to morrow on board the Galiote, at the mouth of the Ohio I am to meet the periague which is to carry me to the rapids. M. Portell can give me no Indian in whom he can place the least confidence, although the season is dangerous being the Indian time of hunting yet I have little doubt by taking proper precautions of arriving in safety at the place of my destination. I hope soon to have an opportunity of manifesting to his excellency the zeal & good will I feel for the happy completion of the business in question.

Believe me Dear Sir with unfeigned regard your Friend & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

HENRY OWEN

Many comp<sup>ts</sup>. to MAJOR MINOR  
Mr. Vidall—

<sup>234</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

## COLLELL TO CARONDELET

*October 20, 1794*<sup>235</sup>

Señor Governor General

Don Ventura Collell, citizen and resident in this town of St. Louis of Yllinois, with due respect, explains to Your Lordship that in the past year of 1793, for the purpose of stimulating commerce, and upon the solicitations of some persons, he outfitted with that object, a pirogue which he loaded with goods suitable for trade with Indians who were specified and who ought to be found at that time. This was done in order to establish a regular trade among them, and to teach them the advantages that would result to them in general from the knowledge of our government both interior and exterior and its wise measures. For this purpose two suitable persons, who were considered capable at that time, were selected, one by Joseph Robidoux, a merchant in this same town and the other by the petitioner.

These persons set out on the journey with the men and provisions necessary for their undertaking, which they accomplished successfully until they reached their destination. There was no unfortunate accident in the whole journey. But after their arrival the man named José Garreau, who was entrusted with the goods belonging to the petitioner, being animated by his turbulent and dissolute character, used the goods for other purposes than those for which they were intended. As a result of his bad conduct a considerable loss was suffered by the petitioner, who realized nothing from his capital, which amounted to more than two thousand pesos. The trader already mentioned, who was chosen by Joseph Robidoux, upon his return to this town made the statement that Garreau remained among those barbarians in a state of abandonment, after he had consumed all the merchandise which had been entrusted to him. He thus caused great injuries to the aforesaid trader.

For which reasons, the petitioner humbly prays that, in view of the considerable loss experienced by him through the improper conduct and the bad management of the above-mentioned José Garreau, and because the petitioner, in preparing this expedition, was actuated only by public zeal and a desire to make those Indians acquainted with the greatness of the Spanish nation and the wise measures of its government, he be granted, in the way of compensation for his loss, the exclusive trade with the Kansas nation for such time as the judgment of Your Lordship may decide to be advisable, so that by this means he may recuperate his loss. Nothing is stated by the supplicant which is not true and well-known in

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<sup>235</sup> BL.

these settlements of Yllinois. As a result of this he begs the present commandant, Don Zenon Trudeau, to be pleased to authorize by his signature all that is asked by the petitioner in this matter, so that Your Lordship may be informed of the truth of what happened in this business. This favor the petitioner hopes to obtain from your well-known benevolence and sense of justice.

ST. LOUIS OF YLLINOIS, *October 20, 1794.*

BONAVENTURA COLLELL (Rubric)

WHITE TO CARONDELET

*October 20, 1794*<sup>236</sup>

I am making a literal copy for Your Lordship of what the commandant of Apalache tells me in official letter number 11, dated October 6.

Shortly before the King's schooner was ready to sail, the chief of Sonostica came to deliver to me a communication from Monsieur Burgess treating of subjects which indicate new troubles, the details of which you will learn from the enclosed copies.

In number 1, you will see how urgently Mr. Burgess, after informing me of the message of the half-breed Galphin, charges me to send it with his letter to the governor of St. Augustine safely and promptly. Number 2, is the reply which Burgess gives to the letter sent to him by that chief, of which I enclosed a copy to you in my official communication number 41. In number 3, you will find Galphin's message, which he directs to Mr. Burgess by order of the chiefs who gathered in the council. Number 4 is my reply to this letter, and contains the promise that I make to the hunters of munitions of war solely in case they see themselves attacked and persecuted in their country, but with the precautions which I indicate. In it I also report two other pieces of rather disquieting news given to me verbally by the courier chief. Number 5 is my official letter to the governor of St. Augustine enclosing that of Burgess and the message.

Of all this the least doubtful is that the confederated nations in the upper towns will very soon begin their attacks on the forts on this side of Oconee. According to my way of thinking, not knowing whether they were constructed with the knowledge of Congress, which I doubt very much, or only by the frontier Georgians, we may fear that a new war will break out, whether or not the Indians are successful in their first operations. The Americans who have already proven sufficiently their bad faith with us, will find new

pretexts for alleging that we aroused hostile sentiments against them and that, in order to put them into practice, we supply the Indians with munitions of war. Everything is entirely contrary; but aided by the *Sans Culots* they will shout to the rabble, to see if they can compel Congress to declare war against us. Even though they do not succeed in doing that, it will not be difficult to incite the mob of vagabonds and indigents, united with French rebels and expatriates. I do not find it difficult to believe that they may throw themselves, by land or sea, upon our settlements, laying waste, robbing, and burning, and looking out to see if they can strike a blow in any part.

In my official letter number 6 I made it clear that the principal defense of this fort consists in the stockade, and since it is useless, I explained the necessity of renewing it, or of substituting for it a stone wall. I have had special notification from the Señor governor and intendant general of the province that he has ordered that the report shall be given at once to His Excellency the captain general, so that he may take measures, with the approval of the engineer director, to provide such improvements as may be needed for better defense. However, he informs me that in the meantime I ought to build up the old stockade on the inside the best I can, and I shall set to work on this as soon as the schooner sails. I am under the necessity of stating again that, on account of the rains and storms we have had almost constantly since the middle of June until well on into August, the deterioration of the stockade has reached a maximum. On the inside it is moderately well sustained by the bank of earth, but that is falling, and could be overthrown very easily. On the outside the stockade is rotten at the ground and much of it is washed out by the water of the rivers in flood time. Its elevation is so slight that any one can jump from the outside to the inside without any great effort. Lately we saw this done by some Indians of Mecasug who were somewhat drunk when they came for the present, and I had to throw out those who had climbed over and have their chief Quisiache, prohibit them from doing it.

In this situation, if, as is to be presumed, the fire is started by the Indians and the Americans, the heat may reach this far. Finding myself with something more than a third of the garrison sick in the hospital and barracks, being compelled to assign another third to the service of the artillery, there will not remain to me a sufficient number of troops for a regular defense. With the twenty-five guns that I have free, I could put up but a poor fight against an escalade or surprise, which might be attempted on two or three sides in order to compel me to divide my forces.

To this must be added that if the war cry comes down from the upper towns and the warriors of the lower towns rise, perhaps I can-

not get together as many as I would need for auxiliaries; but even though I should succeed in doing it, their maintenance and the presents, which I lack, would cost the King a great deal.

All of this I place before you so that you may convey it to the Señor governor and intendant general, with the object that he may be pleased to re-enforce this garrison for the present and while these alarms last, with a sergeant and twenty men, including two corporals. A bark equipped with cannon is also needed if it is desired to preserve this post. For the rest, if the sacrifice of myself and of my troops would be of any use, we would never attain it with greater honor than in the royal service.

I transcribe this letter to Your Lordship and enclose in it the documents which are mentioned in it.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

PENSACOLA, *October 20, 1794.*

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

#### WHITE TO CARONDELET

*October 21, 1794*<sup>237</sup>

PENSACOLA, *October 21, 1794*

MY ESTEEMED GOVERNOR: The Cherokees have received the gifts, both those which were in the storehouses and those which were deposited with Belestre, and they have gone away well-satisfied. The 500 pesos have been given to McDonald, as Your Lordship ordered. The letter which I enclose, although it was written in the nation, he delivered to me here yesterday. He wished that an interpreter should be hired for him, but I dissuaded him from it for the present, because he does not need him.

*October 22nd.*

I have just had a conference with the Cherokees, who came to say farewell. Little Turkey commends himself to the protection of Spain in the present situation of his nation, and expects to receive a word from Your Lordship in reply.

The report of the death of the two white men turned out to be false, but the robbery actually took place.

I remain always Your Lordship's most attentive and devoted servant, who kisses your hand.

ENRIQUE WHITE (Rubric)

SEÑOR BARON DE CARONDELET.

## DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*October 27, 1794*<sup>238</sup>

No. 45.

CONFEDERATION, *October 27, 1794.*

SIR AND GOVERNOR: Mingopouscouche, the great chief of the Small Part, is desirous of seeing you, as is Nanhoulimastabe, large medal chief of the village of Anchaoula. I did not believe that I ought to prevent them from doing so in view of what you said to me at New Orleans after my arrival from Nogales, to the effect that, if the little chief wanted to come down with me, why did I not bring him. They are therefore both leaving with a very small retinue. I particularly recommended them to do this, as I knew your wishes. They want to go by way of Mobile on account of the bayous and I have written to Monsieur Lanzos about this.

These two chiefs told me they wanted to speak to you about the fort and the presents. I beg you not to promise anything to them if you are not sure of being able to give them anything in the spring-time, because I have already warned them that the presents had not yet arrived. Furthermore, I pointed out to them, as you ordered me to, the dangers of the war which might cause the ships to be captured. I also told them that merchandise was not manufactured at New Orleans. Both of them are reasonable and, if you will say the same thing to them, they will be impressed and at least they will not say that I am a liar, as they have often done.

I have lately found out that Payemingo, chief of the Chickasaws, doubtless at the urging of the Americans, wanted to declare war on the Talapoosas on his return. If this is true, I fear very much that the Choctaw nation will take part in it. Although I shall do my best to stop the Chocktaws from taking this step, this Payemingo is such an intriguer that he has already won over several partisans, in the Small Part since the Choctaws have been going to the Chickasaws on their way to war against the Kickapoos and Osages. However, I shall bend all my efforts to prevent him from succeeding in case this war is declared. I urge you to speak about it to these chiefs, who will probably mention it themselves, because they told me upon leaving they were very much afraid of seeing war declared when they came back. You ought to question Mingopouscouche very closely and he may enlighten you because he received much information from a young man who was there.

It is said that a great number of Talapoosas went to the roads on which Payemingo is travelling and that the convoy is escorted only by a few Chickasaws. If they have done so, it is sure that Payemingo and his party have been destroyed. I am very much

<sup>238</sup> BL, (French).

afraid that this is not the case. It would be a great boon if it did happen. It seems that Payemingo had not yet arrived as it was said but that he had sent a courier to request that the presents be given at Occhipo, which is two days' distance from the Chickasaws. Here it is believed his people are waiting for him. Payemingo of Faquet Chiponta is not the same one as the one who shot at the boats, as you may have been told. He was not even there, but at his village, which is about one league above Faquet Chiponta on the other bank. The one who shot at the boat is this Taiqueabe who is really the nephew of Payemingo, but he was drunk. Therefore Payemingo has not gotten into trouble, although he is quite capable of doing worse than that. However, I think it is a good idea to give him the medal because Monsieur Lanzos had promised it to him and, if he did not get it, he might commit some mischief.

I am including in this letter a note from the Chickasaws sent by Mingopouscouche and Nanhoulimastabe. Their request seems reasonable to me because they are the only two chiefs at Anchaoula, which is a large village. This Nanhoulimastabe is a man capable of undertaking with his eyes closed everything which we may ask of him, as he has done at Mobile in the previous war where he was wounded in the King's service. He is the nephew and the righthand man of the little chief. They uphold one another and I recommend them both to you. The first is very desirous of having a saddle for his horse because he has not received one either at Nogales or at Mobile. He expects to ask you for a red uniform and his uncle does also. Both want flags because when their wives died they covered their bodies with the ones they had as is the custom among them. I promised them nothing.

As for myself, I learned from some Talapoosas who recently arrived at the fort that the one named Lucas had not been killed as he was reported, but is living in good health at the Talapoosa nation.

I have the honor of being, with deepest respect, Sir and Governor, your most humble and most obedient servant,

JUAN DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

MONSIEUR LE BARON DE CARONDELET, Governor General.

REPORTS CONCERNING ACTIVITIES OF AMERICANS <sup>239</sup>

*Official letter of Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howard, commandant of the frontier, to the governor of Florida.*

The most reliable information from our frontier is reducible to the fact that the brigadier and the senator of Congress, Gunn, has succeeded in convincing General Clarke of the madness of his enter-



prise in establishing himself in the Indian nation. As a result of this conviction, the aforesaid general with his followers have returned to Georgia, and Major Gaither has gone on to said nation to demolish the forts that Clarke's men had constructed. It appears that on the northern frontiers, a serious turn has taken place between the English and Americans and it is possible that it will result in open hostility. It is affirmed that a French engineer, although in the service of the United States, is at present laying out a site in the Island of Cumberland in front of the island of Amelia in order to erect a fort. I have been advised, and it appears probable, that the supreme government of the United States, has assigned the ports of Wilmington and St. Marys for the receipt and sale of the prizes taken by the French, excluding the introduction and disposal of the same in any other American port. May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN VIZENTE FERRER, *October 27, 1794.*

CARLOS HOWARD

Señor D. JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA.

*Another official document of the same commandant.*

I consider the information contained in the adjoining paper, which appears to me authentic, concerning the renewal of the purposes held by at least part of the people of Kentucky relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, so interesting, that I have believed it to be obligatory to make it known to Your Lordship, so that in view thereof you may take such steps as may please you. May God preserve Your Lordship many years.

SAN VIZENTE FERRER, *November 5, 1794.*

CARLOS HOWARD

Señor DON JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA.

Postscript. I include herewith the gazette which contains the aforesaid information.

*Extract from the minutes of the convention of the county of Bourbon, State of Kentucky, at its first session on the 14th of July, 1794.*

RESOLVED: That Mr. Brandford be appointed to request Colonel Edwards to be present at the convention, to the end that it be informed of the present state of negotiations between Congress and Spain concerning the navigation on the Mississippi River. The aforementioned colonel attended, and because of his information the convention declared that it is their intention to proceed with the method previously adopted in order to succeed in obtaining the use of the Mississippi.

RESOLVED: That Mr. Howe, Mr. Smith and Mr. Henderson, be named as a committee subdelegated to prepare and present a peti-

tion to the citizens of Kentucky, couched in terms which may appear to them best calculated to stimulate the citizens of other counties to hold conventions. The aforesaid document follows:

Fellow citizens: When we view in retrospect the events of the last years, we may feel stimulated to continue with enthusiasm the great object of the navigation of the Mississippi. If we show ourselves careless and indolent, we shall have no reason to expect that the matter, notwithstanding its present favorable aspect, will not again be neglected. Therefore, we earnestly urge upon our fellow citizens to join with us in ascertaining the desires of the towns by means of conventions. A member of Congress for this state tells us that the Spanish minister, having been questioned as to why the navigation of the Mississippi had been so long impeded, made the following reply: "We understood in Spain that a large number of the citizens of Kentucky did not wish this navigation." If we were again to show by our conduct that we are in a manner satisfied with our present situation, there is no doubt that Congress and Spain will be equally satisfied with a state of things that is according to their interests. Some may ask—What use are these conventions? In the first place will they serve to gain the opinion of the towns on this matter. Is it or is it not the idea and will of the people that we shall have free use of the navigation of the Mississippi? If it were made evident that it is the will of the people to enjoy the aforesaid navigation, the second question will be: What measures ought we to adopt to accomplish this great object? If we are unanimous as to the first question, it is likely that we shall accomplish the desired object, without any further steps; but if we are divided and discord exists between us, any measures which we may adopt will be useless. Taking all this into account, fellow citizens, might it not be greatly to our advantage to organize ourselves in the manner outlined without exposing ourselves to any risk? Can there be any risk in learning the ideas and will of the people? If the measures already proposed are not the best, we shall gladly submit to the decision of a majority of votes, but at least, let us get together in order to act. It is already time that this matter be carried to a conclusion. We are, fellow citizens, your most obedient and humble servants.

JOHN HOWE, JAMES SMITH, SAMUEL HENDERSON

*Paragraph from a confidential letter without date from the aforesaid lieutenant colonel.*

The information which I give Your Lordship officially upon this occasion as to the claims of the people of Kentucky relative to the navigation of the Mississippi River, is for the purpose of contradicting the notion formed by the Baron de Carondelet that

the manoeuvres of the French or Americans, at least against Louisiana, have been entirely abandoned. Insofar as this province is concerned, I am persuaded that their desire to work harm is not lacking whenever the circumstances may be favorable to their intentions, although I am of the opinion that there are but few evidences of it at present. However conditions may be different if the auxiliary troops are withdrawn from us before the war is terminated. In this, I have not desired nor do I desire any vote.

It is a copy of the originals which are in this secretaryship during my command.

SAN AGUSTÍN, FLORIDA, *November 12, 1794.*

MANUEL RENGIL (Rubric)

DUROUZEUX TO WHITE

*October 30, 1794*<sup>240</sup>

COWEITTAUS, *30th October 1794*

*May itt plesse your Excellence*

I cant acquaint you With any Sartintey of What has past in the Nation Sence I arived in it from pensacola, itt has been in Sutch a confusion, The Mad Dog of the Tuckabatches is Now in the Cusseittaus Trying if he can Gett any of the propertey that is Laetly brought from Georgia. The headmen has promist it Shall be Restored again, but it is out of the headmen power to Keep thaer young men in Subjection althoe the Govenor of Geogea has Removed the White people of this Syed the Ococney and Burnt thaer fort & housesess they had built. Which Givess them Great profe of the White people Wishing to be at paece With them, & the Indions hoepes that a paece Will Tacke place in the Spring if the Georgians Keep out of the Indions hunting Grounds this Winter & the Indions on thaer parts to mind nothing but thaer hunting this Winter, it Depends on the Answers the Mad Dog bring back from George as he is Going thaer, altho the Mad Dog had cauld a Meeting at the Tuckabatchess just as I came up at Which they had agreed to go out against these Setlement that was on this Syed the Ococney, but before the time Apointed for to go was Expiard News came in that the Georgians had Removed thaer people Which put a stop to thaer going out, The Headmen of the Lower Touness have been informed that the Tuckabatchess people have fiard & Robed some Spanaird of pensacola, but they have Decierd me to acquaint you that its mutch against thaer Decier & if any thing Extronery Should be comitted by the Uper Touness that they must Setle Sutch Matters thaer Selves,

<sup>240</sup> BL, (English).

that they Will have Nothing to Say to it—And you may Depend on thaer allways holding thaer frends the Spaniard fast by the hand. The Haulloing King Gives his complements to you and Says he Will be Doune in the Spring and acquaint you of Every perticolor that may pass this Winter and you Will be so Good as to Acquaint hime of Everything that may hapen towards pensacola, I am With Graet Respect and most Obedaint & most Humble Sar<sup>t</sup>.

JAS. DUROUZEUX (Rubric)

His Excellence HENERY WHITE ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

P. S. inclosed is a Talk the Mad Dog Sent to the Lower Towns Which was Mutch aproved off

(Addressed:)

His Excellance HENERY WHITE ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

Govonor and Commander in Chiefe of pensacola West Florida

NAVA TO CARONDELET

*November 6, 1794* <sup>241</sup>

I received Your Lordship's letter of the 14th of last June in reply to mine of the 9th of December of last year. I saw with satisfaction the vigorous measures that Your Lordship had taken to repulse the French if the affair should have come to the launching of the invasion which they planned against the province in Your Lordship's charge, and for which the sea and land forces which they might boast in the American States were destined.

The rapidity of the progress being made by the latter is amazing, according to what Your Lordship tells me, particularly those of Kentucky and Cumberland. Their proximity to our territory and their usurpation of the lands belonging to the Indians on the frontier of Texas and New Mexico against whom they are boldly moving may bring upon us in time injuries that it is not wise to disregard.

In view of all that Your Lordship points out to me concerning the necessity of providing arms and ammunition for the Indian tribes of our dependencies, I shall endeavor to arrange this point with respect to the tribes which depend on the province of Texas and receive their yearly gift at San Antonio de Bejar. Even now I think of ordering that arms, powder, and ball shall be furnished to the Apache Lipanes who live on the frontier of Coahuila and that of Texas, for they are showing themselves to be in a bad humor because they have not been receiving these articles, which have been given, although in small quantity, to the Comanches, Taovayas, Tawakonis, and other Indians known here under the generic name of parties of

<sup>241</sup> BL.

the north. This is to calm their resentment, since to overcome the obstacles of being enemies of the last named tribes, they are going as far as the vicinity of Opelousas, in order to acquire arms in exchange for animals.

I again assure Your Lordship of the sincerity of my regard and my desire to please you, and I pray God to preserve your life for many years.

CHIHUAGUA, *November 6, 1794.*

PEDRO DE NAVA (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

PORTELL TO CARONDELET

*November 6, 1794* <sup>242</sup>

MY DEAR SIR: Although I do not give it the greatest credit, I do not wish to omit informing Your Lordship that a rumor is going about that General Wayne has entirely defeated the Indians in the neighborhood of Miami. For this reason the English have evacuated the fort which they had there and Wayne took possession of it. He was thinking of going from there to take Detroit, and afterwards of sending to Kaskaskias seventy-five men for the purpose of establishing and garrisoning a fort in that place. In addition, he was planning to send 180 men to establish and garrison another fort at the Iron Mine. From now on the garrison at Fort Massac must be counted at 125 men, forming a total for the three detachments mentioned of 380 regular troops. I have also been told that there is talk again of establishing bases of supplies for the garrisons that they ought to have from the Falls of the Ohio and Kaskaskias as far as Nogales. This is according to what was put in the gazette in the previous year of '93. All this may be true, but I will not believe it until I see it. However, my not giving it full credence will not interfere with my watchfulness nor prevent me from being always on the lookout in order to give prompt notification to Your Lordship.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

NEW MADRID, *November 6, 1794.*

Your most attentive, devoted, and faithful servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

TOMÁS PORTELL (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

## DUROUZEUX TO WHITE

*November 8, 1794*<sup>243</sup>

Copy.

COWITTAS 8th. November 1794

*May it please your Excellency*

I have to inform your Excellency that I had sent off my letter some days past by one Mr. Sugar, but he meeting some Pack horses coming to the Nation returned with them, which obliges me to send them again, altho' nothing new I have to acquaint you with, only the Mad Dog is gone to Georgia with only one white Prisoner and one Negro; what may be the contents of his journey we shall know at his return (if ever he do!) The chiefs of the lower Towns have given great promises that all late property brought into the lower Towns shall be restored in the Spring, with proviso the Georgians do not come over the Oconee river and molest their people in the hunting ground, as they did last winter; nothing but the want of ammunition and guns has prevented the lower Towns from being on the Settlement built at this side the Oconee this Summer, but now they find the Georgians have removed these Obstacles which was their encroaching on the Indian land. They are willing to make a peace with the Georgians: Another thing is they have been afraid of being disappointed by the Spaniards for supplies to carry on the war with the Georgians, or they would have been upon them this last Summer. Nothing more at present but wait for Your Excellency's instructions and conclude with having the pleasure to be Your Excellency's most obedient & most humble Servant—

JAMES DUROUZEUX

His Excellency HENRY WHITE ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

## GOTTARD TO DUROUZEUX

*November 9, 1794*<sup>244</sup>TALAPOUS, *November 9, 1794.*

SIR: Mr. Daniel McGillivray told me that he had messages from the governor of Pensacola to deliver to the Indians, but as the nation is of the same mind as when you left, he does not dare say anything. The Chickasaws have made peace with the Americans, and George Colbert has received many presents and some money. The Mountain Leader has received money with which to buy two negro women, and a large number of the Choctaws have also made peace. Mr. de la Villebeuvre has written you a letter and sends you his regards. Jeuzant did not want me to answer.

Hoping for a reply from you, I am, your most humble servant,

PIERRE GOTTARD

<sup>243</sup> BL, (English).<sup>244</sup> BL, (French).

## QUESADA TO CARONDELET

*November 12, 1794*<sup>245</sup>

By the hand of Don Henry Collins, who arrived here a few days ago, and departed yesterday for his destination after repairing the small boat in which he travels, I received Your Lordship's official letter of the 19th of last August. In it you are pleased to communicate to me that the hostile projects against that province and this one have disappeared. To this I respond with gratitude, and enclose a copy of the news that has just been given to me by Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howard, commandant of this frontier, relative to the retirement of the American General Clarke, to Georgia, in compliance with orders from the Congress of the United States, and the complete destruction of the forts which he constructed in Indian territory. He also gives information concerning the injurious machinations of the people of Kentucky in regard to the use of the navigation of the river. The conjectures of my informant proceeding from the present confused aspect of things are in truth sensible. I transmit everything with the object that Your Lordship shall not lack this information, and so that you may ascribe to it such importance as you may judge best for the service of the King, in which I am interested.

I shall be delighted if Your Lordship obtains the appointment which you tell me you have asked for. I am grateful for the generous offer of your powers, and in the meantime I desire that Your Lordship may make free use of mine in this office or in any other where my fortune may place me.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

SAN AGUSTÍN, FLORIDA, *November 12, 1794.*

JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

## WHITE LIEUTENANT TO CARONDELET

*November 14, 1794*<sup>246</sup>

*A talk from the White Lieut. of the Ocfuskies to his Father the Governor Baron Caron Delite New Orleans*

Father, the Spaniards I only acknowledge to be our Father, and the first white people we red people ever Saw or heard of. It was you that first took us by the hand when were in an entire state of nature and Ignorance and under a tree on the Seashore to the great

<sup>245</sup> BL.

<sup>246</sup> BL. (English). The original was written by Jacob Townsend for Chief White Lieutenant, November 14, 1794.

Surprise of our fore Fathers, told them from whom and in what manner they first came and then Existed & that Talk has been handed Down to us from them that the Spaniards told them that the Maker of Breath with his own hands made man out of Clay after his own Likeness and put life in him and after that made one Woman out of part of the man, and put Life in her. also and soon after making them Learned the man by getting upon the woman to make children and that all the people in the World Sprung from them, from that time we remained in Entire state of ignorance and I suppose were naked. We are told you frequently held talks with us under a tree on the Place where Pensacola & Mobile now stands before ever their was a house on either places it was the Spaniards that first gave us powder and Bullets and Learned us by hunting to Cover our Nakedness, and in return we acknowledge you as our Fathers & Benefactors bying sensible of your Superiority of Knowledge and Abilities, and as your traffick became greater we shall become more sensible of the advantage of an Entercourse with you, and Build housses and Enjoy part of our Land, and when the English come We looked upon them as your Brothers As to Seagrove's telling you that we have thrown you away and your talks he is a Lyar, and if you Believe him you must think that we are Lyars and madmen to throw away our friends and take people by the hand that are Daily hunting our lives and land, so far to the reverse that I as a poor red man that has a little more sence than the rest of my wretched Brethron from the Bad talks sent to Governor White and Mr. William Panton of Pensacola, I am afraid you will throw us away and Leave us to the Mercy of our Enemies who will soon Exturpate us.— Great and Good Father this talk is sent you by way of Vindicateing myself and Brother chiefs of this nation from the Sensure of some bad talks invented by James Seagrove who come unto our nation, and Imposed on us, by insulting our friends and sowing sedition amongst us, Such talks is this day, Explained to me by Dan<sup>l</sup>. McGillivray and Stephen Sullivan from a Philadelphia newspaper I never before saw nor neither heard of and as for Seagrove he is a Lyar and his heart is crooked and his Tongue is forked, for in so treacherous a manner to attempt our ruin, by such vile Insinuations to insult our Elder Brothers But great Father I hope you will look over the insult of evil Tongues and look upon us as a wretched part of mankind that are Lyable to the Impossession of every evil minded person & power, and do for his sake that your fore Fathers informed and made us all look upon us and do all in your power for us; and althou we are not of one coular yet we all Sprung from the first two that were made I hope as Fathers and Brothers you will protect us from these people who are Daily studying our ruin for the sake of



our land If we must part with our Land and you are ever obliged to protect us with the Sword better it would be for us to give it to our friends to protect us, than suffer our Enemies to Enjoy it who are Daily Destroying us. Notwithstanding what is passed through the channel of Mr. Seagroves talks, I shall place my whole Dependence upon you; hoping shortly to receive a long talk from you, Directed to the interpretations of some good man you may appoint for that purpose and whom you & I, can Depend on Mr. Olivier was a very good man & his Tongue was not forked as for Mr. Millford, and the man you sent last to us they are no Body & their hearts & Tongues are not straight there is now no beloved man of yours amongst us, and I hope you will trust the appointment of one to Governor White and Mr. Panton of Pensacola who knows what kind of a man will best answer Both us and you, and that the maker of Breath will inspire you with Pity on us, is the wish of your wretched son & Servant—

TASKINIAHATKIE

WHITE LIEUT. Ofusk

Witness &amp; signatures

STEPHEN SULLIVAN

and DAN<sup>L</sup> MCGILLIVRAY

N. B: Mr Panton has always supplied us with goods and all other wants have been well supplied by him, he I wish to be always continued to supply us, for I believe him to be a good man and shall use my Endeavour to protect him allways & his traders,

TASKINIAHATKIE

a true copy ordered to be sent to his Excellency Gov<sup>r</sup>. White his Father at Pensacola By his orders sent accordingly

Yours truly

DAN<sup>L</sup>. MCGILLIVRAY

To Colonel White Gov<sup>r</sup> & Commander in chief of his Catholick Majesty's forces at Pensacola—

CHIEFS OF KASIHITA TO WHITE AND PANTON

*November 20, 1794* <sup>247</sup>

CUSITTAWS LOWER CREEKS, *November 20<sup>th</sup> 1794*  
*his Excellency and M<sup>r</sup>. Panton this my talk—*

D<sup>r</sup>. friends & Brothers I speak to [you] once more and hopes to find you in the same mind that was the last time I saw you as I Continue in the same as you last talked to me we still Consider

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<sup>247</sup> BL, (English).

you our friends and hold you and all other white people by the hand as you told us to do there is people in land that Steals and is apt to take bad talks but it is not me I keep my all still & in peace and for you and your people I still Consider you my suport, as our fathers the English told us therfore my talk is one talk to you. you told me to be at peace with the americas which I am and hopes to be Last sumer the Crossed the oconee and Come over and Bilt forts which gave me unEasiness but the have found it not right to settle our land unadvisedly and the have removed them all of this side of the river oconee which I write this to you to let you see what is done therfore I hope that we shall have peace in our land that our young people may hunt in peace and quietness in our land that we may be able to Cloath our weomen and Children and them likewise to stay at home in peace raise provisions for us and our Children the governor of St. augusteen sent for me and desired me to Come Down and see him but I had so much to do to talk to our young people of these towns to be in peace I could not go to see him which I was sory for but I sent him an ansvar to his talk as for my part my town it is large and my people is a good many we now hope the will hunt in peace I hope as our white man m<sup>r</sup>. Carr is gone Down that you send us a good suply of goods I have talked the warrior and the big king and the mad king and when this you see I hope you may think I talked to you in friendship and sende me an answer this my warriors is going to Come to see you and I shall Expect that you will receive them as friends and suply them with provisions to suport on while the ar ther and give them a little tobaca and salt and give them three or four Cags of rum as I have been along time kept from hunting by giving talks to my people to be in peace I am got very poor but I am now a going a hunting and in spring I shall see your answer

THE KING & WARIOR  
THE BIG KING and  
THE WARRIOR KING

I was Not at the Meetting When This Talk Was Wrotte, but it was brought to me by one of the cheifs and confirmed it to be the Truth and the Voyess of the Cheifs of the Cusseittaws Toun—

JAS. DUROUZEUX (Rubric)  
Intp<sup>r</sup>. L. C. N.

(Addressed:)

To his Excelency the Governor and M<sup>r</sup>. Panton in Pensacola.

## TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

*November 26, 1794*<sup>248</sup>

No. 202.

I am sending to Your Lordship three memorials from as many merchants who solicit exclusive trade rights among the Indian nations of the Missouri. The first of these merchants, Jacques D'Eglise, is certain that he has discovered the Mandans, and for this reason he should receive the favor for which he asks. But it would result in annulling the Missouri Commercial Company which proposed to make its first establishment in this nation. Nevertheless, the discoverer might be permitted to enter there with such merchandise which he would desire, as he has done this year, with goods which the company had advanced and furnished him. Furthermore, he has offered to include its interests in all his operations.

The memorial of Meunier and Roland gives the losses they will suffer if their concession of four years with the Ponca nation is annulled. It has already been annulled through the just representations of the syndic of the Commercial Company, and merits no further attention than that Your Lordship may wish to look with compassion upon the expenses which they have contracted for the four years upon which they counted. In view of this, you might grant them the coming year, so that their losses would not be too heavy.

The third memorial is that of Don Ventura Collell for the Kansas nation. He explains the loss which he has suffered on account of the person named Garreau, which is true, and Your Lordship will determine whether his merit is sufficient. But the rest of the merchants will find themselves deprived of the small profits produced by the Missouri.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

St. Louis, *November 26, 1794.*

ZENON TRUDEAU (Rubric)

Señor BARON DE CARONDELET.

## CARONDELET TO DELAVILLEBEUVRE

*November 29, 1794*<sup>249</sup>

I have read your official letter number 35 in which you inform me of the news which Benjamin Fooy gives you in a letter of the 10th of September in regard to Ugulayacabe, who went to the Cherokee fort. You inform me of other parties of Chickasaws who went to Cumberland, where General Robertson had not received any gift

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<sup>248</sup> BL.

<sup>249</sup> BL.

for them. This will certainly offend them, and I shall be glad if it turns out to be true.

The news from Detroit needs confirmation, but the defeat of the Indians by General Wayne has been confirmed by certain information I have received from several quarters.

I am very sorry about the death of the unhappy Lucas, if it turns out to be true, for he was a good man, trustworthy, and consequently very useful. Although I believe you are right in taking all possible precautions, it is not necessary for you to send the ten principal Choctaw chiefs to the Talapoosas as you propose, in view of the fact that the commissary of that nation, Don Luis Villiers, has left for Mobile with the same object and accompanied by Red Shoe. Therefore it would be useless to incur unnecessary expense by sending others. In view of this, you will tell them that it is not necessary for them to go.

God etc.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 29, 1794.*

SEÑOR DON JUAN DE LA VILLEBEUVRE.

INNES TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS

*December 11, 1794*<sup>250</sup>

KENTUCKY *December 11th 1794*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 23<sup>d</sup> of August by my old acquaintance M<sup>r</sup>. Ferguson who delivered it in person on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October. Accept Sir of my thanks for the civilities shewn to my acquaintances who visited your Province, and carried with them recommendatory letters from me. I flatter myself their conduct has been such as hath given satisfaction to the officers of Government during their stay therein.

It is certain that nothing can occupy our attention to more advantage than the welfare of the Country we live in and that a literary correspondence relating to that interesting subject prudently conducted may lay the foundation of a permanent and honorable connection between the two countries. I am extremely happy to find you disposed to exercise those faculties with which the God of nature hath endowed you for the good of mankind and am flattered by your selecting me as one of your correspondents to aid in so laudable a design; it shall be my endeavours to merit that friendship you so politely express for me.

The trip of M<sup>r</sup>. Owen and M<sup>r</sup>. Collins was intirely unknown to me; M<sup>r</sup>. Owen is my particular Friend, and was one of my family till his departure, and when he returns I expect he will again make my

<sup>250</sup> AGI, PC, leg. 2371 (English).

house his residence. The latter end of May our mutual Friend wrote to Mr. Owen (which letter was inclosed to me) and earnestly requested him to repair to Fort Washington by the 12th of June on important and secret business; Owen accordingly went to Ft. Washington. About the 12th. of July I received a letter from him dated some days preceeding at the Rapids of the Ohio in which he informed me that he was proceeding to the mouth of that River, and that from thence his destination was secret.

I wrote to our Friend requesting to be informed where Mr. Owen was gone—his answer was to the Kaskaskias—nor was I undeceived untill I received your favor. The allegations of the Woman who went down in the Boat, must unquestionably be false—Owen has since he came to Kentucky supported the character of a Man of integrity. I cannot suspect our friend of duplicity, neither is or was he at that time in the secrets of the Cabinet, for he is hated from motives of Jealousie by the Commander in Chief, who also quarreled with Mr. Collins some short time before the two Adventures set off down the River. My acquaintance with Mr. Collins is slight, he was introduced to me thro' our friend. I have never heard anything exceptionable in his character and he is said to be a Man capable of any enterprise.

Agreeably to your request I would have sent you an Express, could one have been procured on reasonable terms, the Journey by Land or water is considered dangerous, & five hundred Dollars were demanded for the Trip which I conceived enormous and therefore declined sending.

I have reflected very maturely upon the most interesting part of your letter; your ideas are so very different from mine upon the subject, that I have communicated them only to one friend, who coincides with me in opinion. The *hints* came first from your quarter, viz *the Baron*, which induced me to write you in the manner I did, therefore to induce us to take up the subject with spirit, it is necessary for your Government to speak decidedly—What benefits are we to derive from the measure? No change can ever be expected unless *real and substantial advantages are to be acquired thereby*, & before an attempt is made *pointed & unequivocal assurances* from the *Fountain* are expected, stating what those *advantages* will be, & at the same time, giving the fullest assurances of *Indemnity* to those characters who may be active in bringing about so important an object. *These are Conditions Precedent*—the necessity of which must strike you forcibly on the first view of the subject.

I am well aware that the navigation business hath been mismanaged, & that the interests of Western America have been wantonly trifled with. I also know that the Treaty remains in *status quo*—

that from the clashing of interests, nothing is to be expected; nor will the interference of any *Officious individual* have any weight in a business of such magnitude. Yet if that event which is so ardently wished is ever brought about, it is to be commenced with a few leading characters, and permit me to assure you that the influence of that *Individual* alluded to in your Letter is not adequate to the object, his influence having greatly decreased from a variety of circumstances.

I know not by what conveyance this Letter is to be forwarded, therefore cannot be more explicit. The Cypher will be a great convenience, as it will enable us to correspond with that freedom, which the importance of the subject requires, & if our correspondence is continued relative to it, some certainty of conveying our Letters must be devised, for your Original letter has not yet come to hand—the risque of such Letters tost to and fro in the Country is too great for me to undergo—I have the honor to be with great esteem Sir your mo. ob. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

HARRY INNES

DON EMANUEL GAYOSO DE LEMOS.

DELAVILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET

*December 23, 1794*<sup>251</sup>

FORT OF THE CONFEDERATION, *December 23, 1794.*

No. 46.

SIR AND GOVERNOR: I have just received the letter which you have done me the honor of writing to me on the 30th of September last, in which you tell me that you received my letters minus the signature and the date. I am quite mortified about this, and I shall be more careful about those things. As for the presents which you mention and which you say that Franchimastabe and chiefs from other villages requested to receive at Mobile, this will be much less trouble for me. But I must tell you that this is due to the chiefs who, from lack of union, quarrel one with another, principally the Large Part with the Small Part. Those of the Small Part ask to receive them at Tombeché, as this was supposed to have been agreed to in the Treaty of Nogales. This, they say, should be literally observed and not deviated from any more than from giving presents to the Talapoosas at Pensacola and to the Chickasaws at the Ecores à Margot. Therefore they request us to keep our word in this matter. For my part I shall always be satisfied with any arrangement, but I feel obliged to tell you about the things as they are. It seems that since we allowed the Choctaws to go to the Americans, they are

<sup>251</sup> BL, (French)

less interested and have ceased threatening to go there. However there are still some who say that they want to go over there to fetch the presents which Payemingo brought and also a few stragglers who go back and forth every time. I have not failed to fulfill your orders in connection with Fort Massac and I had the interpreter, rather than myself, point out to them the danger of the Americans becoming fortified in that region and the risk they ran of losing their land; but the Choctaws did not pay very much attention to this because that place is far away from where they are. Ogoulaya-cabe probably will pay more attention to it than they, but I am very much afraid of Payemingo's taking over the command of the Chickasaw nation.

The news which you send me about General Wayne's army is very different from that I received from one of our chiefs called Payenantla of the Abeka village in the Small Part. He had been fighting the Kickapoos and joined the American army under General Wayne. He said that he witnessed the defeat of three Shawnee and Abeniqui villages located near an English fort called Glichich in the vicinity of the lakes. Moreover, he said that after the defeat of these savages (who fought like madmen, stark naked, having sent away their wives and children at the sight of the American army) the commandant of this fort offered meat and liquor to General Wayne, who refused haughtily. Doubtless, after this incident, the English, enraged at the sight of this violation of international comity and this killing of their Indians right under their own guns, probably engaged them in battle with the aid of the Indians. Even the Americans praise these Shawnees who killed many of their men after fighting with great determination; but the former after surrounding them in the plain, destroyed them all with their artillery. They say that not one of them escaped. Obviously they did not want to, because they could easily have done so at the first sight of the American army. All they actually tried to do was to protect their women and children.

Nantla Occhanya Houman deceived you when he told you that I promised a medal to his brother. I only promised him a captain's commission without even telling him when he would get it. I merely stated that I would write to you about it. You have recompensed them well and given them a very fine present, yet he sent me his brother again to the fort to ask for white blankets and hunting ammunition. It is true that this village behaved well and will be an example to the others who are very jealous of it. He is the nephew of the little chief of the Conchaks, who is coming to see you with Nanhoulimastabe from the Anchaoula village. This last is the one who supported my request, or rather yours, for the cession of Fort Tombecbé.

Recently some Talapoosa Indians arrived at the fort. I received them well and they went away quite satisfied. They did not seem to be badly disposed toward us and they said to me that those who had come to Tombecbé and to the Chickasaws to steal horses were friends of Seagrove from the village of the Occhayes. I spoke to them about Clark but they said they were not afraid of him.

I received a letter from Monsieur Lanzos, who tells me that you wrote him a letter about the prohibited rum traffic which is carried on at Mobile. From now on only the King's rum will be allowed to come up. He tells me also that Forbes is the only one who sends any to his traders. I do not know about this, but what I reported to you in this connection was written at the request or protest made to me by the traders of the Six Villages. I sent it on to you. Besides, it is quite likely that Monsieur Lanzos knew nothing about the liquor trade carried on by the inhabitants in the woods or in their own dwellings. At present he knows about it because the liquor trade was the cause of Darbone's death. He is able to remedy the situation now but could not have done so before.

I have not yet received the spirits of rum nor the few presents which you said you are sending. This is doubtless due to the shortage of conveyances. I am sending the barge to Mobile and I shall try to have the chief of Faquet Chiponta go to see you in the city, but I am afraid that he is away hunting.

All I have been able to learn from Texas is that the relatives of the Jouani village Indians, who left a long time ago to take revenge for that death, are said to have killed one Olitopas, chief of the Pascagoula village, who was considered the cause of this affair. This is all I have been able to find out about it, since the incident has not been talked about in the nation.

Payemingo of Faquet Chiponta is a rascal capable of anything and does not deserve the medal in his own right. But if Monsieur Lanzos promised it to him and if we do not give it to him, he is capable of anything. You can call him to New Orleans and have the interpreter tell him to give you satisfaction and that you will give him the medal afterwards. I am sure that he will do it.

I have the honor of being, with the most profound respect,  
Sir and Governor, Your very humble and obedient servant,

J<sup>N</sup>. DELAVILLEBEUVRE (Rubric)

Monsieur LE BARON DE CARONDELET, Governor General.



## LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

*December 28, 1794*<sup>252</sup>

SIR: The bearer of this letter is a resident of Illinois who is recommended to me by a colleague Monsieur Volsay. Knowing your good heart and the pleasure which you take in rendering service to deserving persons, I take the liberty of sending him to you, begging you to be so kind as to help him with your wise advice and to protect him in an affair where he seems to be in the right. Forgive the liberty which I take. Your gracious character which is particularly known to me allows me to trouble you. If I could be fortunate enough to be useful to you in any way, you may feel that you can with confidence call upon the one who is, with the most perfect consideration, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

P<sup>E</sup>. MARIGNY [Rubric]

*28th of December, 1794.*

McDONALD TO WHITE

*December 28, 1794*<sup>253</sup>

(A copy)

LOWER CHEROKEES *December 28<sup>th</sup>. 1794.*

*His Excellency Governor White.*

SIR: The present being the first opportunity that has offered since my return from Pensacola, I send these lines and it's enclosed for Your Excellency's information. If you should deem the contents of the News-paper of any importance, you may if you please after letting M<sup>r</sup>. Pantou have a sight of it, forward it to Orleans. Whatever may be the public language of Governor Blount respecting universal peace with all the World, I know he cherishes a different sentiment with respect to the Creeks & Cherokees, as appears from a late Talk sent to the Indians, offering a reward of a hundred Dollars for a Creek hair, with a view to plunge the two Nations in a War. I have in a pointed manner cautioned the Indians in these parts from listening to such delusions, and the ruinous consequence would attend both their Nations on account of it. Altho' the Nation in general are decided to live in friendship with all red people if they can, yet as the Hanging Maw has got his party, and at the command of Blount, they are very liable to be involved. The Indians in general appear just now very intent on making peace with the United States; this peace however I consider as only temporary, since the Indians have the restoration of their Prisoners

<sup>252</sup> BL, (French).

<sup>253</sup> BL, (English).

more at heart than any thing else. I have not seen Watts since my return: A meeting between the Indians & Gov<sup>r</sup>. Blount took place a few days since respecting the exchange of Prisoners; as none have yet returned from the meeting, I am not able to say how it ended.

Two Fellows just returned from the Shawnee Nation, and who were in the action of the 20th. August, give nearly the same account of it as is mentioned in the paper, except as to the loss of the Indians which they say did not exceed 22 killed, that is, 18 Warriors, 2 white men & two Women: Among the slain were eight principal Warriors belonging to the Wyandots a numerous Tribe: The idea of losing these Warriors throws aside all thoughts of accomodation on the part of that Tribe, of course of all the rest, since they are all joined in confederacy. These fellows further accounts are, that another severe battle was shortly depending, and that the number engaged in the first battle falls by one half at least short of the number mentioned in General Waynes letter to the Secretary of War. Should anything occur the bearer Negro Cesar will deliver me any communication safe. With every sentiment of esteem I have the honor to remain, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obed<sup>t</sup>. & most humble Servant.

JOHN McDONALD (Rubric)

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\* Spelling and accents follow the normal usage in the documents.

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